

The World Tomorrow

MARCH, 1931



SOCIALISM THE WAY OUT FOR AMERICA

NORMAN THOMAS

What Will the Church Do with Jesus?

ERNEST FREMONT TITTLE

Unsnarling Our Race Prejudices

REGINALD BELL

Prosperity by Suggestion

Nelson H. Cruikshank

If We Are to Win Conservatives

Bruce Curry

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EDITORS

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Who's Who in This Issue

Norman Thomas, director of the League for Industrial Democracy, is the author of *The Challenge of War*, *Socialism of our Times*, and other volumes.

Stanton A. Coblentz, poet and journalist, is the author of *Marching Men—the Story of War*.

Ernest Fremont Tittle is pastor of the First Methodist Episcopal Church at Evanston, Ill.

Howard Y. Williams, a former Minnesotan, is executive secretary of the League for Independent Political Action.

M. Whitcomb Hess contributes occasional verse to this and other magazines.

Reginald Bell is assistant in educational research in Stanford University.

Bruce Curry is associate professor of practical theology in Union Theological Seminary.

Nelson H. Cruikshank is pastor of Simpson Methodist Episcopal Church at Amityville, L. I.

Paul Hutchinson is managing editor of the *Christian Century* and the author of *China's Real Revolution*, and *The United States of Europe*.

Halford E. Luccock is professor of homiletics in Yale University.

George L. Collins is university pastor of the First Baptist Church at Madison, Wis.

Samuel McCreia Cavert is general secretary of the Federal Council of Churches.

H. C. Engelbrecht is history editor of *Social Science Abstracts*.

Appearing Soon

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Milwaukee and Socialism

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Mobilizing the Ethical Judgment

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The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

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Editorials

India's Status

Peace may be brought much nearer as a result of the conference between Gandhi and Lord Irwin. The outcome will doubtless be known to our readers before this editorial appears. Our prediction, however, is that no satisfactory agreement will be reached. It should not be forgotten that the Mahatma and the Viceroy have met before. High hopes were raised prior to the Lahore Congress when the announcement was made that Gandhi had accepted an invitation from New Delhi to talk over the situation. But discussion only revealed more clearly the nature of the deadlock.

Status is the heart of the problem. Most Indians do not desire to have the British leave India; they want them to stay, but to remain as equals and guests, not as rulers and snobs. The Nationalists insist that they will be satisfied with nothing less than mastery in their own house. Unless Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru have completely reversed their former attitude, they and their colleagues will not accept the most liberal offer the Viceroy can make for the simple reason that Great Britain is not yet willing to relinquish control of India.

The fact should be made clear that the Round Table Conference did not propose any fundamental change in the position or rank of India. Her status under the proposed constitution is to remain indefinitely that of an inferior to England and the Dominions. A considerable increase in the degree of India's autonomy is contemplated, but ultimate power, including the veto, is reserved for British officials. Under this proposal India is not to be given Dominion Status now or within any specified period. Britain is to have the last word with regard to the army, finance, foreign affairs, and relations with the Indian States.

That Mahatma Gandhi and his fellow Congressmen will accept this proposal seems wholly improbable. It should be recalled that Gandhi sent word to Ramsay MacDonald in December, 1929, that he would gladly attend the Round Table Conference provided it was being called for the purpose of drafting a constitution of Dominion Status for India, but that he would not consent to go if it was the Labor Government's in-

tention to regard Dominion Status merely as a goal or an objective. Indian Nationalists are convinced that the debasing and demoralizing effects of being ruled by foreigners and frequently being subjected to contemptuous discrimination and exploitation are intolerable and should not longer be endured. They are as determined to secure freedom as were the American colonists, and as willing to run any risk in acquiring it. A change in status is what they are insisting upon, and this change in position is not contemplated in the Round Table proposal. After the American Revolution began, George Washington and Patrick Henry would not have accepted an offer which provided for the removal of grievances and the granting of increased autonomy but which left final power in Britain's hands.

Indian Nationalists are unmoved by arguments that their country is not yet ready for self-government. And the outcome of the present struggle will not be determined by the fitness of India but by the intensity of the Nationalists' passion for liberty and by their powers of endurance.

Not only does the Round Table agreement fall far short of Dominion Status, but it loads the dice in favor of the conservative and reactionary elements in India and, if accepted by Gandhi, it would make immeasurably more difficult pacific social reconstruction. A drastic reorganization of the economic system is imperatively needed. Potentates, industrialists, and land owners dwell in ostentatious luxury while the masses exist in agonizing misery. Jawaharlal Nehru and the left-wing Nationalists are more passionately concerned with the redemption of the poor from economic exploitation than they are for political freedom from Great Britain. The provisions of the Round Table Conference would plant the princes, capitalists, and rich landowners firmly in the saddle and would thereby enormously increase the probability of violent class war in India.

In our opinion the Nationalists' struggle will continue until Great Britain grants a new status—that of equality. If Britain is wise in time, India may be saved as a Dominion; if not, India will insist upon separation and will go her perilous way alone.

The Democratic Dogma

It has long been a popular pastime to hold diplomats, kaisers, kings, and potentates responsible for the evils from which men suffer, particularly the evil of war, and to picture the average man as an injured innocent. This dogma of democracy, which undoubtedly had its basis in the natural human tendency to self-righteousness, was true in the sense that the man in the street has no particular malice toward foreign nations until his leaders arouse it, and that the leaders do sometimes serve ulterior purposes in their diplomatic and military ventures. Nevertheless, the total picture was not true, and modern events are beginning to reveal the fact that wars spring from a lack of imagination and social intelligence on the part of the average man as much as from the conspiracies of politicians.

There are few intelligent bankers who believe that the war debts can be paid. Nor do the leading statesmen suffer from such an illusion. But they are afraid of the ire of the average man and therefore refrain from making any bold suggestions concerning this problem of international finance. The insult which we offered Japan in our immigration legislation was not desired by Secretary Hughes, but he was not brave enough to defy the public prejudice that had been aroused, the flame of which sprang from the embers of race prejudice in the heart of the average man. European diplomats would like to organize some kind of tariff union to save the continent from anarchy, but it is doubtful whether they will succeed. The feverish nationalism of peoples only recently emerged from a great conflict prevents effective international coöperation.

It is probably wrong to attribute this lack of imagination, which makes international intercourse so difficult and which is bringing modern civilization to the edge of an abyss, to the average man without discrimination. There is, after all, no average man. There are classes in society which profit from international conflict, and there are others which are below the average in international intelligence. These two may force a nation into disaster even though the majority of its citizens desire peace. It remains true, nevertheless, that the majority which desires peace does not know how to get it.

Mr. Brailsford recently made the suggestion that England could solve its Indian problem by giving the Indians *carte blanche* and telling them they can have all the freedom they want with coöperation from England only to the extent that they desire. He intimated that the Indians would ask for more coöperation than England is likely to preserve by fighting for it. The suggestion seems reasonable, but we know it will not be accepted. Nations and peoples do not act with so much imaginative insight and such adventurous courage. Wherefore they will continue to make each other

miserable until we can have a social intelligence among average citizens that will match the engineering skill which has tied all nations so intimately into one bundle of life.

Mr. Hoover and Arkansas

President Hoover's uncompromising insistence that Federal resources may be used for feeding cows and horses but under no circumstances to avert the starvation of human beings is so interesting an attitude from a man who gained his fame by feeding starving Europeans that one is at a loss to understand its motivation. Was the President really afraid of adding twenty-five million dollars to the tax burdens of the rich? Or did he permit his hatred of the radical minority to force him into this impossible position, impossible from the standpoint of both politics and reason? Or shall we say that he was the unconscious victim of the drama of history?

The political philosophy underlying American life has since its beginning been the philosophy of *laissez faire*. Its central dogma is that government shall not interfere in private enterprise. In the course of time this dogma has been hammered into a rather sad shape, and what has emerged is a policy much more closely akin to that of the mercantilism, which political individualism displaced, than to the philosophy of Adam Smith. That is to say, the Government interferes with business by tariffs, grants, or appropriation of natural resources when it benefits the classes most powerful in our society; but it refuses to interfere when farmers, laborers, and other underprivileged classes ask for aid.

Even if the classical theory of non-interference had been preserved in its pristine purity, it would no longer meet the needs of our industrial world in which inequalities of economic power demand more and more that society, through the Government, come into control of economic processes. Nineteenth century individualism is dying. Perhaps there is some gay, ironical spirit in history which provides that death shall be defied by one last bizarre gesture, too ludicrous to be taken seriously but in sufficient accord with the general character of a dying tradition to express both its life and its death in the same moment. This spirit seems to have made the luckless Mr. Hoover its victim and decreed that he shall stand as a mock hero, courageously insisting that it would imperil private initiative to give starving farmers in Arkansas a little Governmental aid, while in the meantime his henchmen are busy dividing our natural resources among strong men of great initiative. The history of our time is tragic, and it is perhaps well that its seriousness should be relieved by a touch of satirical comedy. The best character to embody this *motif* is naturally one who is thoroughly unconscious of its meaning. The spirit of

history could not have found anyone better suited to the part than the harassed and perspiring Mr. Hoover.

A Tragic Sequel

There is a sad sequel to this bit of sardonic humor—another chapter of history more enlightening than entertaining. Mr. Hoover has had his way about relief in spite of the opposition of the Senate. Senator Robinson who made a brave stand against the President and who insisted that his Arkansas constituents must have food, capitulated over night and accepted a so-called compromise. This was nothing more than an assurance on the part of the President that the relief bill as it stood would be "liberally interpreted." According to Senator Robinson this assurance means that drought-stricken farmers may be able to obtain food. Obviously they can do so, under the terms of the bill, only if they have some kind of security to offer for Government loans, a provision which excludes the poorest of the farmers.

Why then did Senator Robinson accept this compromise which is really a capitulation? He was visited by an influential electric power magnate, a friend of Mr. Hoover's, who controls vast resources in the Southwest and who gives Mr. Robinson's firm its law

business. This gentleman seems to have a persuasive manner. After his visit to Washington, Senator Robinson's opposition folded up. The whole incident offers an interesting revelation of the influence exercised by big business in governmental affairs, and more particularly the influence of the power interests.

Sherwood Eddy's Third Thirty Years

Although he appears to be under forty-five, Sherwood Eddy has reached the age of sixty and automatically retires from the Young Men's Christian Association. For thirty-five years he has without salary served the Association in various regions of the world. At a banquet of recognition, Dr. Mott happily referred to "Sherwood's third thirty years," and predicted that his most fruitful days are ahead.

Dr. Eddy's retirement from active service with the Y. M. C. A. is a source of deep regret to a host of secretaries and lay members, but it is the occasion for sighs of relief on the part of the more conservative wing of the movement. It must be said, however, that Dr. Mott and Mr. Ramsey, his successor, and their colleagues have loyally supported Sherwood Eddy during times of crisis when determined efforts were being made by wealthy patrons to have him ousted from the movement. In spite of distorted press reports, he is not retiring because he found himself cramped within the Y. M. C. A., but because sixty is the retiring age.

Retirement will not greatly change the type of work Eddy has been doing. He will continue to spend most of his time lecturing in the colleges of America and other lands. His pen will still be busy. Although *The Challenge of Russia* is fresh from the press, two other volumes are in preparation by this indefatigable explorer. He plans to maintain his leadership of the American Seminar in Europe each summer.

Sherwood Eddy is one of the youngest sixty-year-old men on earth. His physical vitality is phenomenal. Even his closest colleagues are constantly amazed at his endurance. His mind is restless and always searching for new experiences. This characteristic is so pronounced that he is in some danger of a superficial treatment of profound subjects. But his instincts are so true that he has made few or no mistakes in choosing his causes or in the solutions which he has offered for great problems. And if he should at times give himself to ancient crusades as if he alone were in the field, that only adds to the charm of his naive and youthful enthusiasms.

His sympathies are as broad as mankind. Especially solicitous is he for the under-dog. He cares less about comfort than most men and has always been willing to share his means with the less fortunate. His personal frugality is proverbial, while his persuasiveness as a solicitor of funds for worthy causes has netted several million dollars.



At the Little End of the Horn

The basic characteristic of his life is courage. Big game shooting was a favorite sport during his early days in India. In his work with soldiers during the war, he was indifferent to personal danger and took what his associates often thought to be unnecessary risks. He is not afraid of criticism or opposition, and he has had a lion's share of both. It was characteristic of him to say frankly to the friends who gathered at the banquet of appreciation, many of whom are conservative capitalists, that he had joined the Socialist party and expected to devote the remainder of his life to the cause of social justice and world peace.

To an extraordinary degree Sherwood Eddy has the ability to move the wills of his hearers. His vivid and dramatic presentation of a cause naturally involves a certain amount of oversimplification which may leave some of his hearers unsatisfied, but his method is justified by its pedagogical effectiveness upon the large numbers. In an impressive manner he stiffens the backbone of persons who come under his influence. His unquestioned sincerity, depth of conviction, unselfishness of purpose, sensitiveness of spiritual insight are inescapable. He takes Jesus more seriously than most other Christians and relies more steadfastly upon the guidance and sustaining power of God. In literally all corners of the earth are men and women whose lives have been transformed because of contact with Sherwood Eddy. He has lifted mightily on his generation. May his third thirty years be even more glorious!

Britain Regains Jewish Confidence

The important letter from the Prime Minister to Dr. Chaim Weizmann has done much to restore cordial relations between Zionists and the Labor Government. This communication is being generally interpreted as a reversal of the policy set forth in the Passfield White Paper. The fact should be recalled, however, that at the time that report was published, MacDonald emphatically stated that it was being misrepresented by Zionists, and that their bitter criticism of the Government was unwarranted. The extent to which the British position has really been shifted by the Prime Minister's utterance cannot be measured accurately because his words, too, are subject to various interpretations. The significant fact is that an atmosphere of good will has been created.

The proposed Round Table Conference of Jewish, Arab, and British representatives tentatively scheduled for spring, should help to clear the air. But, as we see it, the ultimate solution of the problem can only come about along the following lines: the Jews must be permitted to establish a spiritual and cultural home in Palestine; they must be afforded security of life and property; they must be granted reasonable access to the land and a moderate flow of immigration. On the other hand, political Zionism must be abandoned—

that is, the effort to transform Palestine into a Jewish political state. The population is overwhelmingly Arab, and the Arabs should therefore be accorded a dominant position in the political life of the nation. Amicable relations among all parties concerned cannot be maintained on any other basis.

The Bonus Raid

Only a small number of our soldiers actually saw battle. Hundreds of thousands of them never reached the shores of France. Compared to the sacrifices made by the Allied armies, ours do not bulk very large. Nevertheless, ex-soldiers make claims upon our Government which exceed the wildest dreams of avarice of the Allied World War veterans. After we entered the conflict the Government settled war time insurance upon each soldier in the hope that this policy would obviate future pension raids. It did not prevent the bonus grant of several years ago. Now, in a winter of depression in which millions of men are idle and in want, the soldiers attempt another raid upon the treasury. They want cash on the Government certificates which they hold. To grant this demand would require three and a half billion dollars; and they have the brazenness to ask this at the very time when the Government believes it violates American principles to give starving farmers twenty million dollars in food. The suggestion of Owen Young that only needy veterans be given aid has been accepted by Congress, and in its present form the proposed legislation is not as vicious as the original proposal. Nevertheless, a billion dollars will probably be needed to finance the bonus, and these millions will be disbursed by the Government not according to the general need of the population but according to a national service rendered by men more than a decade ago. To be sure, it is probable that even this modification of the original measure will be vetoed. But the fact remains that a small portion of the population is quite willing to claim extraordinary privileges from the Government, while millions of unemployed vainly seek help from state agencies. It is another sad commentary on the conscience of America.

Population Prejudices

A new generation is growing up in nearly every country convinced of the morality, desirability, and social value of birth control. No movement ever went forward with more persistent sureness, but none ever encountered such a reluctance to sanction in the law and in current ideology what is increasingly becoming social practice.

An interesting illustration of this is found in the latest population statistics of Great Britain, a country where birth control has ceased to meet with much public disapproval, and where birth control methods are freely described in literature sold on any city street.

Birth control has brought, as everyone knows, a decrease in births, but a still larger decrease in infant mortality. Sir George Newman recently announced that the birth rate in England and Wales for 1928 exceeded the death rate by five per thousand, which is less than half the figure for the years 1921-25. In 1929, 16,594 fewer babies were born than in the preceding year. But the significant thing is that infant mortality in the same period was by far the lowest ever recorded.

With employment at a low ebb, with the need of restricted populations evident as never before for a dozen reasons of economics, peace, health, and general social well-being, the sanity of birth control is amply clear. But what happens when such figures are made public? It is the same in England as in France, Germany, the United States, or anywhere else. The papers print scare headlines: "Figures the *Worst Since the War*"; "Birth Control Bringing Great Britain *Perilously Near a Stationary Population*." Not yet can men shake off the bonds of tradition and come alive. Not yet can they fully see that quality, not numbers, makes a country or a people great.

Forced Labor in Russia and Elsewhere

The recent embargo against the importation into the United States of lumber and pulpwood from four regions of Northern Russia has concentrated attention upon the labor policy of the Soviet Government. Secretary Mellon based his action upon the contention that convict labor is used in the production of these commodities and places the burden of proof to the contrary upon the Russian authorities.

The British Government has issued a Blue Book of some 200 pages which outlines the various practices of the Bolsheviks with regard to the utilization of "forced labor." Walter Duranty, Moscow correspondent of the *New York Times* and one of the most sympathetic American newspaper men in that country, recently estimated that there are now upwards of 2,000,000 "exiles" in various regions of Russia and that perhaps 200,000 of these men and women are in the northern timber belts. Concerning their status Duranty says: "They are certainly not convicts in the American sense of the word, but one cannot say they chose of their own free will to work in the northern lumber camps or on railroad construction in Kazakstan."

In January, as a result of a railroad conference called by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, an order was issued mobilizing all individuals competent for railway service. All persons who had previously had any experience whatever in railway work were dismissed from other employment and ordered to report within five days for a railway job. Such individuals were required to accept any position offered and to go to any designated spot however dis-

tant. Refusal to obey is regarded as a criminal offence. A few weeks later a similar mobilization of agricultural experts was ordered. The *Times* correspondent inquired: "Is that forced labor or is it not?"

Sovietland is not the only country, however, in which forced labor is found. Raymond Leslie Buell has recently summarized the evidence that there are at least 3,000,000 slaves in the world today. Slave-trading is still carried on in Abyssinia, Algeria, China, Egypt, Eritrea, the Sahara, and the Sudan. Peonage, indentured labor, and other forms of contract labor often result in conditions and practices which by the mildest characterization may be classed as semi-slavery.

If consistent, therefore, the Treasury Department would institute an embargo on rubber from Liberia and Peru, on diamonds from South Africa, on copper from the Belgian Congo, on fruit from Central America, and on various other commodities from different regions of the earth. If similar treatment were accorded exporters from these areas, they would be required to furnish proof that their goods are not produced by "convict" labor. In passing, it might be pointed out that certain planters in our own South would be embarrassed if compelled to prove that "forced labor" is not used in the marketing of their products.

The present controversy between advocates and opponents of the Russian embargo emphasizes a significant trait of human character. Conservatives often vehemently denounce practices by radicals which they ignore or condone when indulged in by men of their own stamp. On the other hand, radicals usually hurl invectives at reactionaries who uphold "wage slavery" and other forms of exploitation and at the same time they indulge in romantic white-washing of the ruthless suppression of freedom by fellow-radicals.

The extent of forced labor in Soviet Russia today is one of the reasons why THE WORLD TOMORROW prefers a socialist society to a communist one.

New Contributing Editors

With this issue THE WORLD TOMORROW is adding two Contributing Editors to its editorial council. Halford E. Luccock is Professor of Homiletics at Yale University Divinity School. For four years he was a regular contributor to the various *Christian Advocates*. He is the author of half a dozen volumes. His social passion, spiritual insight and sparkling literary style have made him an outstanding figure in the religious life of America.

Patrick Murphy Malin is an instructor in economics at Swarthmore College. He has traveled widely and possesses an unusual breadth of experience. He has specialized in economic problems from an ethical point of view and is regarded as one of our most promising younger religious leaders.

Socialism: The Way Out for America*

NORMAN THOMAS

THREE things a socialism worth confidence must offer: a philosophy, a program, and an organization equal to the task of winning plenty and peace and freedom, not indeed without suffering or struggle, but without a suicidal and self-defeating degree of violence. It is in these directions that socialist thought and effort must consciously turn.

First, philosophy. The word is not quite adequate. It sounds somewhat cold and abstract. Religion might do but it suggests an other-worldly interest and theology which I do not mean. A social ideal, a great organizing loyalty, a social "myth" as French writers use the word: these are included in the term philosophy which must have emotional as well as intellectual content and will escape—I hope—degeneration into doctrinaire creedalism. . . . The attempt to derive the socialist answer solely from Marxism is not only to waste energy but to deepen the gulf between the theology and the practice of socialist parties in which sincerity and enthusiasm are lost even as they have been lost in the similar abyss within the Christian Church. . . . But to say this is easier than to formulate the philosophy we need. When that task is done it will owe a great debt to Marxism, but the philosophy will not be merely a restatement of Marxism. . . .

The cornerstone of that philosophy is the absolute necessity of planned control of the resources and machinery of the world in the common interest if we are to avoid disaster, to say nothing of achieving plenty, peace and freedom. Our loyalty and our philosophy must catch up with the demands of the machine age upon them. It is useless to hope that in a matter of such importance we can drift or attain by indirection a result which must be attained speedily if we are to escape disaster when the chariot of social change is geared to the wheels of machinery which turn ever faster. It is equally useless to believe that any sort of wisdom of engineers, technicians and managers can bestow so great a gift upon a world under thrall to divisive and inadequate loyalties and to the acquisitive instinct. It is and will continue to be a notorious fact that technical competence by no means makes of our engineers as a class men of social vision. They docilely sell their skill to the private owners whose fortunes they are the key men in creating. They seek their reward by trying to enter the owning class. Thorstein Veblen is right when he says that the real social revolution will come when engineers work for

society as they now work for absentee owners; but they will do that only when society in general embraces a new loyalty. It will embrace this loyalty as in other days it has embraced other loyalties to empire, church and nation when it is consciously urged by men with vision and understanding. . . .

America particularly needs some emphasis on what I have called a philosophy for an effective socialism. It must, especially in these times of rapidly changing scientific and psychological theory, be experimental. It must not degenerate into dogmatic creedalism. It must offer an adequate loyalty in an interdependent world, hold up some vision of plenty, peace and freedom, not entirely measured or determined by men's economic desires. Its appeal will be many sided: to men's interests as consumers as well as producers, to their desire for justice and brotherhood even more than to mere resentment against class wrong. Yet resentment is a social force and may be made the impetus to social action. It is to workers exploited both as producers and consumers by a system of private property for power operated for private profit that we must primarily look for active and powerful mass effort for change. But the more men and women transcend a narrow and immediate class or group interest for the sake of ideal interests, the better for us all. Therefore the importance of emphasizing that in a world ever threatened by war not even the most fortunate of us are safe and that in a world of gross and ruthless inequality and oppression no individual can be truly free. And to say this is not to preach Utopian but a realistic socialism. . . .

A Program

THE first and most important problem of socialism is the actual shift of property and with it power over those things necessary for our common life from private ownership and management for profit to social control for use. What industries, resources and economic services are basic? How fast may they be taken over? By what incentives operated, and under what plan of management? How far can the taxing power be used to promote socialization? These are some of the obvious questions. . . .

To begin with socialists seek first the "key industries" or the "commanding heights" of our economic system. Among these are those industries and services already recognized as public utilities and others which by their approach to monopoly control and their importance should be treated as public utilities. The soundest general principle on the order of sociali-

* EDITORS' NOTE:—This article is taken from a forthcoming volume entitled *The Way Out: A Program for America*, to be published by the Macmillan Company.

zation of industries was stated by John A. Hobson when he urged beginning with those industries and services in which already the engineer is more important than an entrepreneur. These are usually industries or services in which the demand is or may be fairly constant. It is really amazing how many such industries there are. Outside of the newer industries, such as the the automobile industry, there are very few great corporations in which private initiative prompted by desire for profit is playing the dominant rôle in their development for public service. Often this sort of initiative even when apparently effective has been at least partially offset by a gross and wasteful competitive overdevelopment as the automobile industry itself is in a fair way to prove. Technical initiative belongs to the engineers. . . .

Almost unnoticed, our governmental agencies have blundered into a higher efficiency in many lines of public service than we have realized. The post office is no model for government run enterprises, yet no one would dream of turning it over to the express companies which for years blocked the enormous boom of parcel post—advocated by the way most earnestly by that staunch conservative, John Wanamaker, who as department store magnate and, for a time, postmaster-general, knew what he was talking about. Banking influence has been strong enough to block a more than two per cent return on postal savings not because the department is inefficient but too efficient and the banks dislike competition. Fire departments, schools, and roads have been long enough and far enough out of the field of private profit to make us forget that they are great enterprises which might have been left in private hands. Whatever the faults of the public school system and the values of permitting private schools to exist alongside of them, no one dreams that to turn public education over to private hands would be anything but a long step backward.

Great bridges and tunnels are built by engineers for public agencies with admirable competence, and such enterprises are financed more cheaply than any corporation would dream of doing it. The Holland vehicular tunnel between New Jersey and New York is a triumph of engineering skill which the entire populace rejoices was built and maintained by a public agency rather than turned over to the Public Service Corporation of New Jersey. Similar statements can be made of the water systems of New York and other great centers even though the cities are under very unsatisfactory governments. . . . Sixteen small California towns which distribute their own electricity at a low rate of approximately five cents per kilowatt hour make an average of twenty-six per cent profit which is applied to reducing taxes. These are only a few of the working examples which prove that even now there is no social inefficiency or corruption which

wipes out the savings which cheaper capital, lower overhead costs, and greater coördination give governmental agencies and subdivisions in managing public utilities. . . .

THE main dependence of socialism in a transition period will be a tax taking over the rental value of land, and heavy, graduated taxes on incomes and inheritances. These taxes cannot be passed on or shifted as sales taxes can. They can be more fairly assessed and better collected than a general tax on personal property, which is now unscientifically assessed and generally evaded in states where it exists. Income and inheritance taxes under some circumstances may have to be supplemented by a capital levy. Such a levy would have been peculiarly appropriate after the war when governments conscripted life but borrowed money. Today, however, it is likely to meet legal, psychological, and practical objections greater than those offered to income and inheritance taxes which are already well established in principle and can achieve about the same result. Minor use may be made of certain other taxes including franchise taxes, license fees, etc. A sales tax on gasoline, the proceeds to be used in highway maintenance, is equitable and falls on the users of the roads. But emphasis must lie on land tax, chiefly for local needs and income and inheritance taxes for state and federal needs.

No amount of socialization of basic industries and no program of taxation will get very far or be adequate to our needs if we leave out social control of money, banking, and credit. How to bring this about is one of the three or four subjects most vital to any socialist program and most in danger of going by default or being subordinated to some monetary patent medicine like the old greenback craze. . . .

Organization Indispensable

A CAUSE may have an inspiring basic philosophy and an adequate and intelligent program, but if it fails to achieve effective organization it cannot be called a movement. Its indirect results will be few, belated, and inadequate. Socialist and labor organizations if they are not to degenerate into political machines and business unions existing solely for what their members can get out of them in immediate gain must continually renew their strength from the living waters of social conviction, but it is also true that the daily experience of actual organization checks and modifies not only the program but the essential philosophy of a movement.

It is a commonplace among modern socialists that three forms of organization are basic in a successful socialist movement: the organization of consumers, usually and preferably into coöperatives, for effective use of purchasing power; the organization of work-

ers in industrial unions; the organization of citizens in a party. These three forms of organization should ideally work together, but no one of them can do the work of the others or arrogate to itself dictatorial power over the others. When as in the United States the official labor movement is antagonistic to the Socialist Party, both the party and the unions suffer.

All three of these forms of organization are relatively weak in America. Yet their weakness can be exaggerated. Our numerous so-called but unreal coöperatives attest to the validity of the idea behind consumers' coöperatives. It is a political commonplace that the one way in which attempts to form a powerful radical party going back to the early nineteenth century have been frustrated is by taking over one or another of their demands. So it has been from the days of the adoption of the public school system first demanded by labor unions and a workers' party until these days when the idea of old-age pensions and even unemployment insurance is ceasing to be "socialistic." As for the labor unions, I never got a more vivid sense of their significance than when I was invited as a kind of devil's advocate to a conference of a number of New England employers troubled by a conscience. Every single one of them was non, not to say anti, union. Every one told of welfare measures and plans allegedly far better for the workers than unionism, all the results of their Christian conscience, and by the end of the day every one of them openly or tacitly had admitted that only fear of unions had enabled them to put these measures across with directors and stockholders!

Nevertheless the greatest industrial nation in the world where one chain store system does more business than the whole consumers' coöperative movement in the merchandizing field, where workers are only about 12 per cent organized, a smaller proportion than in Spain or Poland, and where the highest socialist vote for President was 919,799 which by 1928 had shrunk to less than a third of that number in a campaign fought on the three R's—rum, race and religion—is a country which needs to consider why coöperatives, unions and a labor party so powerful in Europe are so weak in it. There are certain special reasons for this weakness in each case but there are also general reasons for the relatively backward condition of this whole interrelated movement which are worth considering.

In a word, coöperatives, labor unions and working class parties in America have made relatively slow progress because ours was a new pioneer country without feudal traditions or inhibitions. It was virgin soil for individual homestead farmers and individualistic captains of industry on a comparatively small

scale to whom the earlier stages of the machine age gave opportunities it now denies them. Social beliefs and habits linger long after the economic conditions to which they were appropriate have changed. . . .

It is plain as two plus two that the organization of masses of workers must be pushed politically as well as industrially, that not only lack of social insurance and a labor code but the growth of the injunction evil and the essential unfriendliness of executives and courts which are usually the creatures of the business interests controlling both old parties create a situation well-nigh hopeless for labor. To some extent labor from Gompers down has recognized that fact and has been in politics "practically"—sometimes very practically—but with poor results in the big issues that matter. Ours alone of industrial nations has no unemployment insurance and is only slowly struggling state by state to a paltry old-age insurance which is a mere annex to the poor law. We have inadequate child labor legislation and no general labor code; effective minimum wage laws have been declared unconstitutional without much fight from labor. No ostensible democracy in the world in recent years has seen the police machinery used against labor as state troopers or "Cossacks," the militia, deputy sheriffs (often paid by the employers), private or semi-private coal and iron police, and those most despicable of men, private detectives, are used in our states North and South. Finally, no political democracy but ours permits courts to enjoin acts in themselves peaceful and not illegal during times of strike. . . . Meanwhile proper political activity in an independent party while its ultimate success will depend on labor organization will also help to create the psychological and practical conditions for better labor organization. . . .

With such great things stirring it is no time for unscientific despair or for a pessimism based on our failure to catch up with ourselves or rather with our amazing mechanical progress. We may or may not accept the interesting theory that successive civilizations, like individual human beings, are born, wax strong, grow old and die. We shall at least try to find the causes of death in specific social diseases and fight them in society as we now fight them in individuals. We shall seek new life for mankind in a nobler culture which may break old cycles of decay.

Symbols of the Age

A CAR of black and tan, with leopard grace,
And liveried chauffeur, gliding glittering past;
While on the street, a man of gray drawn face
Goes cowering, coatless in the sleety blast.

STANTON A. COBLENTZ

What Will the Church Do With Jesus?

ERNEST FREMONT TITTLE

JESUS has shared the fate of all the prophets. A prophet is first taken seriously and damned. Then, when a long time has passed, he is revered apotheosized, and no longer taken seriously. Here, for instance, is St. Francis of Assisi who, seven hundred years after his death, is praised by everybody, including the militant followers of Mussolini. Francis had no faith in the sword and cared nothing at all for material wealth; but he is lauded by militarists who clamor for additional cruisers and revered by millionaires who labor to increase their pile! Commenting upon the present popularity of George Bernard Shaw, one of his English contemporaries has remarked that Shaw may yet live to see himself in stained glass windows. He has also remarked that if this should happen "it would be the most insufferable revenge which a world that he has scourged and mocked could inflict upon him, for when a prophet is deified his message is lost."

In a way, the adoration of Christ has been the tragedy of Jesus. Magnificent cathedrals, lighted altars, vested choirs, intoning priests, acolytes swinging burning censers, theologians saying, "Very God of Very God", a multitude crying, "King of kings and Lord of lords"—but all for whom? Hardly for that humble son of Mary who came not to be ministered unto but to minister; who laid up for himself no treasures upon the earth; who, when he was reviled, reviled not again; who said to a militant disciple, "Put up thy sword"; who believed that love and love alone has redeeming power, although he died knowing that the immediate response to love may be a cross.

After Christianity had secured the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them by making its tragic compromise with the Roman state, its official representatives ceased to proclaim the teachings of Jesus. For an inconvenient ethic they substituted an enchanting metaphysic; for the Jesus of history, the Christ of theology. The subject matter of Christian teaching and preaching, as of Christian drama and art, was the birth and death of a supernatural Saviour, the resurrection and ascension of a God. The Sermon on the Mount was not only un-acted, it was almost unmentioned. There was developed a religion *about* Jesus which became so radically different from the religion *of* Jesus that once and again during the past fifteen hundred years the Jesus of history would surely have wanted to explain that he himself was not a Christian.

Even the Christ of evangelical preaching has been but an abstraction of the Jesus of history. The Jesus

who healed the sick and who invited the weary and heavy-laden to come unto him and find rest, who honored women, welcomed children, brought hope to sinners and comfort to mourners—to him an evangelical Protestantism has directed the attention of successive generations. But this Jesus of an ardent evangelism has been only so much of the Jesus of history as charmed men's fears and bade their sorrows cease, not the actual Jesus whose teachings were in some instances so revolutionary that they got him into serious trouble with Authority.

ALL this is familiar ground to the alert student of Christianity. But in our time the Jesus of history has risen from the dead—somewhat to the embarrassment of the church which has worshiped him. A friend of mine whose preaching is characterized by spiritual insight and moral incisiveness was recently taken to task by a member of his congregation who said to him, "After listening to you I cannot enjoy the contemplation of Jesus." No wonder! There is much in the Jesus of history that cannot be enjoyed by pew-holders who are laying up for themselves treasures upon the earth and calling for a bigger navy to protect them. There are, it appears, not a few Christians who have no doubt as to the divinity of Christ and no faith in the teachings of Jesus; in whose judgment the Apostles' Creed is infallible and the Sermon on the Mount is impracticable; who believe that Jesus was the only begotten Son of God and that to take him seriously would be personally and socially disastrous.

There is no denying the fact that both in his religious faith and in the ethical inferences which he draws from it the Jesus of history runs counter to the prevailing religious and ethical patterns of our time.

He believes that God is love, essentially and everlastingly. To this it may be objected that Jesus sometimes speaks of punishments, terrible punishments, inflicted by God himself. He speaks of an "outer darkness", of an awful "torment", of "weeping and gnashing of teeth"; and making all proper allowances for the pictorial language, does he not sometimes seem to suggest that the methods of God are not always the methods of love? Professor Case does not hesitate to say that Jesus had moods in which he expressed a firm conviction that God was capable of jealousy, anger, and even vindictiveness; but to me this seems to be an utterly erroneous interpretation. Jesus does speak of terrible punishments; he also

speaks of blessed rewards. But by him neither the one nor the other is conceived as a crude, external bestowal; rather it is viewed as the inherent consequence of certain attitudes and acts. It is inconceivable that a mind like that of Jesus, capable of summarizing the moral law as love to God and love to man, could for a moment suppose that divine punishments and rewards are anything other than the inherent consequences of wrong or right behavior. The love that Jesus conceives to be at the heart of the world is an ethical love which utterly deplores injustice but which is determined and able to overcome it with a courageous and persistent good will.

NOW, the prevailing belief of our time is not in a God who is ethical love. In *Wings Over Europe* the minister of the navy, with obvious sincerity and real emotion, undertakes to say what naval reduction has meant to him. He has watched his battleships rise from their keels, watched them as a father contemplates the development of his children. He loves them and is proud of them. To him they represent the might and majesty and comforting security of the British Empire. "And now", he says, "I am bidden to scrap them in the name of a Christ in whom I do not believe and in disloyalty to Jehovah, God of battles, in whom I do believe". Even yet the God in whom most people actually believe is war-like, not Christ-like. He is on the side of the heaviest battalions, not everlastingly and dependably on the side of truth and right. His most significant incarnation is a Mussolini, not a Gandhi. In and out of the church, the rank and file of men have no faith in a God who is love. They want to believe that Reality has a kindly aspect: there are times when one feels the need of personal comfort and even of personal forgiveness. But that the kindly aspect of Reality is its most significant aspect they neither believe nor desire to believe, for they have little if any faith in the power of good-will.

GRANT the religious assumptions of Jesus and his ethics follow as a matter of course. Believing as he does that love is central and controlling in the nature of God, he draws the inevitable inference that love ought to be central and controlling in the relationships of men. There should be no hate, no retaliation, no selfish consent to profit at other people's expense, but instead a persistent willingness to forgive and an eager desire to serve. In this case, also, Jesus runs counter to prevailing convictions. Whether in or out of the church, the multitude of men still consider it sheer folly to "turn the other cheek"; and, although they are beginning to recognize the fact that service has commercial value, but relatively few of them in any walk of life are deliberately choosing to be a servant on the assumption

that service is something which the individual owes to society. Our present social order is largely built on the assumption that service is something which society owes to the individual, or rather to such individuals as by reason of their wealth or skill are able to command its services.

The Jesus of history believed in the possibility of a better world. Professor Harry Elmer Barnes contends that his teaching concerning the kingdom of God is unimportant because, for one all-sufficient reason, it is now quite impossible to determine which of two conceptions he had in mind—an ideal society on earth or a spiritual kingdom in the world to come. But in this, as in other attempts to appraise the teachings of Jesus, Mr. Barnes fails to see the point. In the thought of Jesus there was no distinction between an ideal society on earth and a spiritual kingdom in the world to come. He gave to the kingdom of God an apocalyptic setting as familiar to his Jewish contemporaries as it is unfamiliar to us. We moderns have learned to think of an ideal social order coming slowly through human effort. Jesus' contemporaries, and he himself, thought of such an order coming suddenly by divine intervention. But neither they nor he supposed that it would come only after everybody had died and gone to "heaven". In their thought, and in his, the time of its appearing was known only to God; the agency of its appearing would be the hand of God or of his personal representative; but the place of its appearing would be this world. It would, to be sure, be a spiritual kingdom, not merely a political organization; but it would be an actual human society established on the earth. That was the one great essential fact in Jesus' conception of the kingdom of God, not the modus of its appearance nor the peculiar stage setting which, in keeping with current anticipations, he gave to it, but just the fact that it would come and that when it came it would be an actual human society established on earth and of a nature unspeakably glorious.

Today, increasing numbers of the professed followers of Jesus are beginning to share his faith in the possibility of a more noble and satisfying social order, but even yet in "Christian" countries there is no such expectation as there is in "atheistic" Russia of "a new civilization, a new happiness, a new conquest, a new man on this earth now and for all mortal souls". Conventional Christians pray in their churches, "Thy kingdom come"; but they do not really expect it to come now or ever in this world. The most which at present they appear to hope for is the return of prosperity.

THE resurrection of the Jesus of history is, therefore, proving to be somewhat embarrassing to the church which has apotheosized him but which, for the most part, shares neither his religious faith nor

his ethical convictions. What, then, will the church do with Jesus? It cannot easily ignore him. Not only its friends but its foes will force it to face him. Not far distant, I think, is the day when the church will be compelled either openly to repudiate much that Jesus believed and taught or boldly to endorse his fundamental positions. If it does the latter, it probably will be subjected to persecution. If it does the former, it certainly will be subjected to damnation, for it will be required to range itself with the possessors of privilege against the hopes and aspirations of the unprivileged masses of mankind.

One thing is clear. The church can no longer use "the Christ" for its own aggrandizement; for today its Christology represents either an ideology which

is looked upon as superstition or an idealism which is held to be subversive of the social order. As the possessor of an obsolete ideology the church will be pitied if not despised. As the possessor of a revolutionary idealism it will be feared and opposed. With a medieval "scheme of salvation" the church is destined to become impotent. With an uncompromising demand for the abolition of war and the whole war system, military, political, and economic, and with an equally uncompromising demand for a social and economic system in which service shall be primary and profit incidental, it is destined to experience the historic result of prophetic insight and action. These are indeed days of severe and rigorous testing for the church.

Minnesota Points the Way

HOWARD Y. WILLIAMS

ACCORDING to most observers the Minnesota Farmer-Labor party is probably the strongest third-party organization in the country at the present time. Last November it elected Floyd B. Olson governor of the state and Henry Arens, lieutenant-governor. Although the legislature is chosen on a non-partisan basis, about one-half of the newly elected members are affiliated with the Farmer-Labor party. With Henrik Shipstead sitting in the United States Senate, and Paul J. Kvale re-elected to the House, it is the only third-party movement with representation at Washington and commanding executive positions in state government.

This victory is the culmination of a fifteen-year struggle. The party is really the outgrowth of the Non-Partisan League of 1915, a farmers' movement which was the result of pressure from above. The terminal elevators of Minnesota were exploiting the agriculturists by short weight on grain and unfair grading. Although in the years preceding 1915 the price of wheat had risen steadily, the farmer for a number of reasons had received diminishing profits. Because of domination by the grain group of Minneapolis the state legislature failed to provide relief. The embittered farmers organized and through the League purchased newspapers to tell their story, organized co-operatives to sell their produce, and instituted banks run and owned by themselves to provide cheaper credit. By the end of 1918 the League had 50,162 members in Minnesota, with twelve senators and thirty-four representatives in the state legislature.

Following the example of the farmers, the trade unionists formed the Working Peoples Non-Partisan Political League. Before long it became increasingly evident to these two groups that only through politi-

cal control could the desired results be accomplished. They decided to coöperate in the 1918 primary election in an effort to capture the machinery of the dominant Republican party. Charles Lindbergh, father of the famous aviator, able Republican Congressman from Minnesota and a thorough-going liberal, became their candidate for governor. It is perhaps not to be wondered that the conservative groups of this country, who have made so much of the youthful "lone eagle," have in their praise of the son never mentioned the father nor his book, "Why Is Your Country at War, and What Happens to You after the War, and Related Subjects." When after his flight young Lindbergh was being entertained so lavishly by the Chambers of Commerce of Minneapolis and St. Paul, he must have recalled vividly the different treatment accorded him and his father in 1918 when the boy was pilot of the old Ford in that strenuous campaign made by the elder Lindbergh for the governorship. In those days the privileged groups would not listen to the Lindberghs and their kind. Progressives were often refused halls for their meetings, and on some occasions were the recipients of rotten eggs and decayed vegetables during their speeches.

The League lost in the primaries but continued its efforts undaunted. In August of that same year a joint convention of organized workers and farmers nominated independent candidates for governor, attorney-general, and railroad and warehouse commissioner to run in the final election under the designation of Farmer-Labor. This was accomplished by securing the necessary petitions. Although its candidates were defeated, the Farmer-Labor party emerged from the 1918 campaign as the official second party in Minnesota.

Meanwhile the conservatives were not asleep. They saw the significance of this new movement. In North Dakota the Republican primaries had been captured by the Nonpartisan League—and Lynn J. Frazier elected governor. The iron, lumber, and grain interests of Minnesota, together with public utility groups, feared a repetition of this occurrence in their state. With their control of the Republican machine they arranged for a special session of the Minnesota Legislature September 9, 1919. Among other purposes they intended to repeal the primary law and so eliminate the possibility of the capture of their party by progressives. But the strength of the farmers and workers was so evident at this session of the legislature and public opinion had been so aroused, that the reactionaries found it inexpedient to pass the bill.

IN 1920 the Farmers Nonpartisan League and the Working Peoples Nonpartisan League of Minnesota again joined forces. Failing, however, to get the workers into the Republican primaries, once more they ran candidates as independents. Again the bitter contest resulted in defeat, but the vote showed that the new movement was making progress. As usual the question discussed was whether the so-called "balance of power" or the "elect your friends and defeat your enemies" plan was to prevail as a method. At the 1922 joint convention of the farmers and workers, the matter was decided and the sentiment for independent political action prevailed. A constitution and a platform were adopted, candidates nominated, and the Farmer Labor party became a reality.

The 1922 election centered around the choice of United States Senator. Henrik Shipstead, a dentist from Glenwood, who had previously been an independent candidate for governor, was the Farmer-Labor choice. Frank B. Kellogg was the incumbent, and whatever credit is due him for the Paris Peace Pact, certainly as Senator from Minnesota he represented the few and not the many. In the struggle for reelection he had the united support of the metropolitan dailies as well as generous financial assistance. The Farmer-Laborites on the other hand had only his record and their willingness to work. Nevertheless, sentiment grew daily for Shipstead, and the tide was turned when old Bob La Follette came to campaign for the new party. In a mammoth mass meeting at the St. Paul Auditorium, he and his son unfolded completely the record of Mr. Kellogg as a servant of the corporations in the Senate of the United States. The result was that Henrik Shipstead defeated Frank B. Kellogg, and six years later he was reelected by the largest majority ever given a candidate for office in Minnesota.

At a special election held July 16, 1923 to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the veteran Senator, Knute Nelson, Magnus Johnson overwhelmingly de-

feated Governor Preus, the Republican candidate. This election brought home to the Republican machine the fact that the state was thoroughly dissatisfied with its administration. Senator Johnson was a farmer from Meeker County, who had served in the legislature and had been the candidate of the Farmer Labor party for governor. His vote was always in the interests of the people but his unfortunate lack of sophistication proved his undoing. The Old Guard, with malicious intent, took advantage of his desire to please and had him challenged to cow-milking contests and other laughter-provoking incidents which weakened his prestige and finally brought about his defeat.

THE newly elected governor, Floyd B. Olson, is only thirty-nine years of age, and a man of the people who earned his way through school as a newspaper-carrier, farm-hand, sailor and miner. Since 1922 he served as county attorney for Hennepin county in which Minneapolis is located, and his administration was vigorous and efficient. His prosecution of Minneapolis aldermen for graft resulted in their being sentenced to the penitentiary. His receipt of 473,154 votes, a lead of about 186,000 over his Republican opponent, was an indication not only of dissatisfaction with the existing administration, but even more a vote of confidence in Olson. The railroad brotherhoods, a strong non-partisan committee, and the League for Independent Political Action gave him yeomen support.

Henry Arens, who won the lieutenant-governorship with a margin of over 17,000 votes, is a dirt farmer and prominent in the coöperative movement. As president of the senate he will exert considerable power. If progressives can also influence the house, Governor-elect Olson will have real backing for his program.

The constitution of this virile producers' party maintains that "The government at present is dominated by the few and its powers are used to serve special interests. Money and credits, market and exchange facilities, the means of transportation and communication, the natural resources and other basic industries of the nation are practically monopolized by a financial and industrial oligarchy which is in a position to extract tribute from all who live by labor and to keep great masses of people in a condition of unemployment and destitution by manipulating the productive powers of the nation." The party aims to rescue the government from the control of the privileged few and make it function for the use and benefit of all by abolishing monopoly in every form, and to establish in place thereof a system of public ownership and operation of monopolized industries which will afford every able and willing worker an opportunity to work, and will guarantee the enjoyment of the proceeds thereof, thus increasing the amount of

available wealth, eradicating unemployment and destitution and abolishing industrial autocracy. It was primarily through the efforts of the Farmer-Labor party that the tonnage tax on iron ore and the royalty tax, which have brought millions of dollars into the treasury of the state, were passed. In some towns leaders of the party have built publicly owned electric light plants, and heating systems, and have passed ordinances protecting workers in their right to peaceful picketing and guaranteeing them living wages, proper housing conditions, etc.

In the 1930 election Farmer-Labor candidates ran on a platform calling for relief of unemployment by a speeding up of public works, the development of river transportation under government control, a uniform primary election ballot, a re-classification of property so as to reduce taxes upon the farmers' and workers' homes and personal property, a constitutional amendment which will enable the state to control and develop its water power facilities and so reduce power and light rates, the McNary-Haugen bill with the equalization fee, abolishment of the unjust use of the injunction in labor disputes, and the curbing of monopolies in every form.

THE party has had its troubles and reverses. Schemers and adventurers have sought to capture and divert it from the course its founders laid out for it. Ambitious self-seekers have edged their way into the movement and caused temporary embarrassment, and extremists have tried to commit the movement to a revolutionary program. In both cases the strength of the movement and the loyalty of its supporters were severely tested. That the party has survived is due to the character of its organization. The movement is independent of its official structure. It has an organizational and educational alliance known as the Farmer-Labor Association, composed of labor and farmer groups as well as local progressives in every district. This arrangement makes it possible for the Farmer-Labor Association to raise money, to carry on educational work between campaigns, and to select and endorse candidates for office and guide their official activity if elected.

In addition to the men who have been elected to state and national office, as well as the many who over the state have served in county and city offices, too much credit cannot be given to William Mahoney, editor of the Minnesota Union Advocate; Frank L. Starkey, secretary of the Farmer-Labor Association; Henry G. Teigan, secretary of the Non-Partisan League; Victor Lawson, editor of the Willmar News; Dr. L. A. Fritsche, Julius Reiter, Mrs. Anna Olson Determan and Mrs. Susie Stageburg, to name only a few, for the success of the project.

The gravest danger now confronting the party is that it may begin to tread easy on the progressive planks

of its social platform and become merely a galaxy of popular leaders. What the Minnesota Farmer-Laborites lack is a Bob La Follette, and it is greatly to be hoped that the new governor will meet this need, forgetting himself in the effort to build a program and a disciplined movement that will endure.

Undoubtedly the victory of progressives in the North Star State will encourage those in other parts of the country to follow their example. It is significant that the only state in which the Non-Partisan League ideas can be said to function today as an active political force among the farmers and workers is Minnesota where an independent party was established. This means that the conservatives have gravitated to the Republican fold while the Democratic party has practically passed out of the picture. If it were not for presidential elections, the Democratic party would be dead in Minnesota. Already plans are under way for the establishment of similar independent parties in other Middle-West states. It is such organizations, springing up from the grass roots, that will eventually unite to create a national progressive party. Legislation necessary to meet our social and economic problems is national in character and will never come from the Republican or Democratic parties. Every liberal state movement soon learns this truth. It is the reason that most progressives working within the Republican party in states like Wisconsin and North Dakota, and within the Democratic party in states like Montana and Washington, are hopeful of a new political alignment nation-wide in its scope.

Outbound

I TAKE no scrip
Nor purse of gold;

I leave of care
The manifold
On my journey there

Beyond the sun,
Where spirits fare
When their rest is won.

Through the dull weight
Of knowledge spun
For the body's date

These two wings grew:
Evanished hate,
And the love of you.

I take no scrip,
Make no adieu,
On my outbound trip.

M. WHITCOMB HESS

Not in the Headlines

Bank Failures

The number of bank failures in this country for 1930 totaled 1,326, which figure surpassed those of all previous years for a decade. The preponderance of these suspensions occurred in the agricultural regions where 1,200 of the year's closings took place.

Work Guaranteed

Fifty weeks of work in 1931 have been promised to all hourly and piece rate employees in the lamp plants of the General Electric Company. This guarantee, according to the president, Gerard Swope, will cover some 9,000 persons in shops scattered from East Boston, Mass. to Oakland, Calif.

College Students on Prohibition

A summary of the poll conducted by the National Student Federation at its Sixth Annual Congress in Atlanta indicates that in the opinion of students themselves college drinking is on the increase. Among the replies to the questionnaire, 66 favored modification of national prohibition, 38 favored repeal, and 23 endorsed rigid enforcement.

Mob Murders

During the year 1930, 21 persons were lynched in the United States. This is an increase of 10 over the number for 1929. Of the 21 persons lynched, one was white, and 20 were Negroes. The states in which the lynchings occurred and the number in each are as follows: Alabama 1, Florida 1, Georgia 6, Indiana 2, Mississippi 4, North Carolina 1, Oklahoma 1, South Carolina 2, Texas 3.

Russia Buys and Sells More

According to figures released by Moscow, Russia's foreign trade for 1930 was 20.8 per cent greater than in 1928-29. Of Russia's total imports, more than 60 per cent came from the United States, Germany, and Great Britain in the order named. Great Britain registered the largest gain in Soviet orders due no doubt to the re-establishment of commercial relations with Moscow. Russia's export trade increased from 48 per cent in 1929 to 56 per cent in 1930. Her best customers are Germany, Great Britain, and the United States while four countries—Persia, Czechoslovakia, Turkey, and China—failed to increase their purchases from the Soviet government.

Mooney and Billings Church Committee

In an effort to secure the release of Mooney and Billings, who have been imprisoned in California for fourteen years, convicted on the charge of participating in the San Francisco bombing of 1916, a National Church Committee on Mooney and Billings has been formed with headquarters at 112 E. 19th Street, New York City. Leaders of all faiths—Protestant, Catholic and Jewish—are endeavoring through this committee to secure the release of the two men whose innocence has been attested by several witnesses and by the judge who presided at their trial. The committee urges people everywhere in the country to write to the new governor of California, Hon. James Rolph, at Sacramento, urging him to pardon Mooney and Billings.

Czechoslovakia Goes Naval

Named the *President Masaryk*, the first Czechoslovakian warship has been launched on the Danube.

Prosperity

Breadlines and other free mass feeding centers to the number of 82 have been in operation in New York during the early months of 1931. They serve a total of 85,000 meals daily.

Dutch Protests Against Navalism

Although the Dutch Government has decided to put through a naval increase, the Dutch Federation of Trade Unions and the Dutch Social Democratic Labor Party lodged with the Government a petition of protest carrying 1,465,971 signatures.

Seven Million Out of Work

According to a survey by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, there were in the United States 7,000,000 unemployed on December 1st, 1930. The survey was based upon the Metropolitan's group policy holders in 46 cities. It obtained information from 214,000 families.

German Jews Appeal to America

A group of young German Jews, who are affiliated with the War Resisters' International, have issued an open letter addressed "To the Jews in the U. S. A." in which they appeal to all Americans, particularly Jewish Americans, to urge their Government to cancel the war debts. The letter calls attention to the senselessness of endless reparation demands and declares that the injustice which reparations are working upon the great mass of Europeans will ultimately produce a new outbreak of war.

Our Accident Rate

That accidents are the largest single cause of crippling, dependency, and destitution among the people of the United States is the conclusion reached by statisticians who examine annually the nation's mortality figures. Last year, according to government figures, there were 97,000 fatal accidents in the country and more than 10,000,000 non-fatal accidents. Of the 97,000 fatalities 19,000 were children. The automobile is the chief cause of accidents, although one-quarter of the total number of calamities occurred in industry.

Deportation Special

An example of the government's drive to deport criminal aliens was provided by the "Deportation Special" which arrived in Jersey City early in the year. Starting from Seattle the train made stops at various points across the country collecting a total of 317 passengers, which number included 100 women and children. Twelve of these people were insane, but the majority were being returned to their native countries because they had become public charges or because they had served terms in American jails. Nearly every country was represented with the exception of Russia to which no deportations are made. In 1929 a total of 12,900 aliens were deported while in 1930 the number increased to 16,600.

Unsnarling Our Race Prejudices

REGINALD BELL

A FEW weeks ago the widening of a highway leading past Stanford University necessitated the tearing down of an ancient wooden fence bounding a field. In black letters on the fence, still plainly decipherable after more than fifty years of California suns and rains, was a political campaign slogan of the late 1870's: "The Chinese Must Go—O'Donnell for Governor." It was not a sporadic slogan of that year's campaign, tied up to Mr. O'Donnell's candidacy. Under the pressure of hostile labor organizations and unscrupulous politicians continuous agitation flamed against the Chinese from 1850 until 1882 when, as a result, the federal government barred all further permanent Chinese immigration. The agitation reached its high point in mob action in 1868 when 22 Chinese were hanged in a race riot in Los Angeles. With the passage of the immigration law in the 80's active agitation against the Chinese ceased.

But a painful inheritance was left for the next colored group. These were the Japanese who came in increasing numbers through the 1890's and early 1900's. At no time, however, was their number actually alarming. Even in the years of greatest immigration it was less than four per cent of the population of California. At the highest point there were less than a hundred thousand Japanese immigrants in the United States. But they were potential political tinder, easily set aflame by sparks from the flint of race prejudice and the steel of economic pressure in the ranks of unskilled labor and small-acreage farmers. Again the race situation was made to serve the ends of politicians without issues and labor leaders who needed to keep their jobs. There followed the "Gentlemen's Agreement" of 1907, barring all Japanese labor immigration; the Anti-Alien Land Laws increasing in severity from 1913 to 1921; the "picture-bride" agitation with its bogey of an overwhelming Japanese population native to the United States; and, finally, the clause in the National Immigration Act of 1924 which barred "aliens ineligible to citizenship" from immigrating to this country.

Terrific agitation and propaganda naturally accompanied this campaign against Orientals, and three main indictments were made. The first was the phenomenal success of the Japanese as farmers and the economic fear generated by that success. The second was the seemingly startling fecundity of Japanese mothers. The third was the cry of non-assimilability, so potent in the early days of pseudo-sociological melting-pot thinking immediately before, during, and after the World War.

Such a history of agitation, of fear, and of prejudice leaves a social heritage of discriminatory conventions and racial attitudes, the pressure of which the students of the coast colleges feel with peculiar intensity. Both the white and the colored students—yellow, brown, black—are today, consciously or unconsciously, reflecting that heritage. Why do the white students, on the whole, think of the Japanese with mixed hostility, fear, prejudice, superiority, or at best with indifference? Why do they insist upon certain fixed barriers—social, economic, biological, vocational, residential—between themselves and their fellow students who are of a different race and color? If the barriers are not there in certain individuals newly come among them, they proceed to erect them. What basis in fact is there for their prejudices?

FOLLOW this line of questioning through honestly and directly with regard to any one racial group on the coast—the Japanese for example. Generally they are regarded as "Orientals" and lumped under that classification with Chinese, East Indians, Koreans, and Filipinos. White students do not discriminate between them. "The pictures in their heads," to apply Walter Lippman's vivid phrase to the present discussion, were a combined hodge-podge of Chinese gambling dens, stolidly-masked, deep-plotting agents of the Mikado, Chinese washermen who suddenly became violent tong-warriors, diseased opium smokers and peddlers, Indian fakirs and dervishes, ancestor-worshippers and rat-eaters, squat, tireless field workers who make slaves of their wives and children, swift, merciless procurers of white girls and Oriental women for "immoral purposes," fabulously wealthy farmers content with filthy shack homes—an utterly "unassimilable" horde of yellow and brown men seething in the too narrow confines of their native lands, ready on the first pretext to deluge our fair land. An altogether naive picture built up from the movies, the newspapers, old-style missionary talks, political campaigns and possibly a few isolated facts and experiences, as well as from the often deliberately controlled and wilfully manipulated public opinion.

Simple, friendly study and discussion between Japanese and American students would reveal the utter incompleteness and childishness of the pictures. To begin with, Japanese are not "Orientals" in any type sense such as assumed above. There is no evidence that they are as a group immoral or malicious. Few of them marry white people. As in the case of any other race or nationality, their standard of living rises

as their education and wealth increase. They are not waiting to swarm to this country. Scrupulously they limited their own emigration under the terms of the Gentlemen's Agreement. Moreover, their children make decent, law-abiding citizens.

CONSIDER also the bugaboos around which arguments center in any inter-racial discussion. What about intermarriage between Japanese and Whites? Is there valid biological data showing it to be harmful? There is little valid data at all, and that is not convincing one way or the other. Isolated cases prove what you want them to. Is it a practical issue? Not in the United States, where opportunity for white-Mongolian marriage is denied in nine states, including those with the bulk of Japanese-American population. Do the Japanese seek it? Not at all. Their young folks are almost unanimously opposed to it. Why? Have they a highly developed sense of racial purity? Rather, they have a well-developed sense of what is socially expedient. They themselves are people without a country. Why, they ask, should they make their children's lives doubly hard, accepted by neither group? At our present stage of social development, intermarriage is a scholastic red herring, confusing but meaningless on the trail to progress in inter-racial relations.

Social discrimination, campus and community, is not a natural outcome of distinctness of interests, of dissimilar likes and dislikes, of actual differences in social ideas and goals. It comes from the accident of a difference in color and its attendant damning historical sequences. What about residential segregation, legal and conventional? Student sentiment is against that, theoretically. Yet ask a fraternity man about Japanese in his fraternity, or a club man about Oriental residents in his club, or even a dormitory member about the Japanese in his dorm. The answer is not so unanimous as collegiate journalism would make out. And the bearing which clear thinking on this issue in college will have on the attitude which the student develops later as a citizen is perhaps incalculable. Are the economic arguments relating to segregation sound? Property does not depreciate in value when colored families move into the neighborhood save to the "insulted" white owner. The real estate speculator who snaps up the bargain offered and sells to the black or yellow man benefits tremendously. The black or yellow owner buys at a high price. The loss is sustained, when sustained, by the original white owner to salve his pride or puff up his superiority complex.

Similar assumptions—valid, partially valid, invalid—are made in every area of thinking about inter-racial relations. Isn't it about time that we who esteem ourselves rational beings abandon our sloppy, emotionalized thinking in this fundamentally impor-

tant area of human relations—particularly those among us who are college students, alumni, or faculty members, investing from four years to a life-time in the hope of producing men and women of intellectual integrity and good will? If there is one thing college training should do, it is to destroy our stupid mass or lump classifications and substitute for them an attitude of individual, open-minded, unprejudiced appraisal. The destruction of old fences with their restraining opinion-forming shibboleths in response to a modern demand for wider highways may well serve as a parable.

A Militarist and a C. O.

"YOU know what you are in for?"
"I know."

"Surely you ought to foresee the results of your stubbornness. Disgrace. Court martial. Possibly a life-time in prison—I understand that a number have been sentenced to be shot. And even if you should come out again, with a whole skin, you know what awaits you? Social disgrace and ostracism. Could you face that?"

"I could, captain."

"I see. Like to pose as a martyr."

"No, captain. The draftees are the martyrs. They have been dragged to war against their will to be sacrificed futilely. I pity them. I don't pity myself at all. I, at least, am saving something out of the war which may be sacrificed by a good many conscripts—my self respect." . . .

"I don't know why I should feel sorry for you, but I do. Perhaps because when I went to college I used to have radical notions myself once in a while. I want to ask you one more question. Will you put on the uniform and take non-combatant service? You might be placed in a base hospital here in Camp Taylor. We have a number of Quakers there now. You will not be called to the front. Come, how about it?"

"No, captain."

"Why not?"

"Because I object to the whole game of war, and not to the mere business of shooting guns. There is no essential difference between being a soldier and patching up other men in hospitals to go out and continue the slaughter."

"Ah," said the captain, maliciously, "your self-respect again. Will your self-respect allow you to work in the kitchen till your case is disposed of?"

"It will." . . .

"But feeding recruits— isn't that aiding war?"

"To be consistent, I should commit suicide. I suppose in war time almost all our actions aid war in some measure. There's a tax on cigarettes, which aids war, but I haven't quit smoking. All I can do is die, or draw the line somewhere. I've drawn the line. I'm ready to work if only to keep from going mad. I have no desire to go mad."

"You're a bit that way already."—*Ernest L. Meyer, Hey! Yellowbacks!* pp. 39-44.

If We Are to Win Conservatives

BRUCE CURRY

I.

It is a perennial puzzle to leaders of liberal and radical movements that they cannot enlist the support of thousands of seemingly intelligent people. This appears the more strange when those who will not respond still profess ideals which would logically align them with the extreme liberal or the radical groups. Here, for example, are the Christians, presumably followers of Jesus, sharers of his faith and purpose. There can be little doubt in their minds where Jesus would stand on racial discrimination, economic injustice, our inhuman treatment of criminals, our war system and all that breeds it. They understand that it is not only the letter of his teachings and example but the very spirit and philosophy of the Master which are denied by many of our customs and institutions. Does this realization drive them *en masse* into the ranks of parties and movements which are protesting against such unchristian factors in our civilization? It does not.

Modern Christians admit that Jesus in his own day took sharp issue with entrenched wrong, that he was indeed a dangerous young radical who was put to death by the authorities for his radicalism. Does this example cause them to become correspondingly radical on the social issues of our day? It does not. They have read Kirby Page's *Jesus or Christianity* and other such books which reveal the discrepancy between our diluted, compromised Christianity and the drastic proposal of Jesus. Does this cause them to rise as one man demanding that Christians repudiate the comfortable accretions and revolutionize social relationships so that they may conform to the way of Jesus? Not at all. They have been shown that the relative impotence of the church is partly traceable to its feeble protest against the unbrotherly attitudes and practices of contemporary life. Does zeal for the saving of the church inspire them to demand a new reformation? Almost never.

WHY this inertia? Why this illogical lagging? Why this reluctance to rally to the colors when the buglers of the left wing are blowing frantically for the charge? The common answer has been to indict the whole group on the grounds of selfishness, cowardice or hypocrisy. Don Marquis once said in his newspaper column: "The thoroughgoing application of the principles of Jesus would blow most of our existing systems to flinders; but people who call themselves Christians will be able to prevent this catastrophe for a good many years, we dare say."

And Professor F. C. S. Schiller once wrote: "The proposal to put the principles of Jesus into actual practice would be bitterly opposed by all the churches in christendom. This does not mean that there are no Christians in the churches, but only that they are not in control of those institutions." These are bitter words. Do they tell the whole story? We may seriously question whether they do.

Some of us who take our own stand on social and political issues somewhere in the neighborhood of the liberal and radical positions, and who must confess to years of effort to win others to that side, might do well to drop the bugle long enough to seek deeper reasons for the meagre response to our call. Granting that self-interest and fear are holding back some and slightly retarding many others, what else must we recognize as deterrents? Can a genuine *apologia* be made for the many idealists who fail to support the programs and policies which, to the liberal-radical, seem so obviously demanded by the present world-situation?

II.

CONSIDERATIONS that give pause to the well-meaning but practical-minded idealist might be stated as follows:

1. A sense of loyalty to the institutions which have purveyed to him the best things of life makes him cool toward any radical reconstruction of those institutions. Frankly, he does not care to see them "blown to flinders." If the thoroughgoing application of the principles of Jesus would do just that, then there must be some other way, for these institutions and customs are preserving values which also rank high even according to the ideal of Jesus. Not that the inherited systems are perfect—that would be too much to expect. Not that he is opposed to experiments which might improve them, but such attempts should be "cautious" and "sane." Thus he believes in "miniature disarmament" but not in the pacifist position; in "relieving unemployment" but not in socializing our economic system. If we try to convince him that his mild measures will never get at the roots of the difficulties, he replies that our more radical proposal has never been tried and would doubtless produce unforeseen injustice and suffering equal to that of the present. He will never be won over to the liberal-radical program by harangue and indictment. He waits to be shown that the proposed radical action can be reconciled with loyalty to his country, his church, his race, his social group, his business organi-

zation, for to these he conceives that society owes God-given values which he must not betray. He waits for proof that the radical reconstructions could really conserve even a modicum of these values or, by "new" and "higher" values, fitly compensate for the loss which all agree would necessarily be entailed. He is genuinely convinced that the change would "do more harm than good." He bears with equanimity the contumely which we pour upon his head for adhering to this counsel of caution.

2. He is not impressed with the value of the reformation-revolution method as seen in past history. It presents to his mind a picture of much wheat rooted up with the tares. An appeal to the inspiring example of the "makers of freedom" fails to rouse him. He admires these men for their dreams and their courage, but he questions seriously their methodology. He wonders whether Luther and Calvin did not let in by the back door more evils than they expelled by the front door. If we point to the abolitionists in this country as radicals who redeemed us from the curse of human slavery, he still shakes his head. Suppose we cite Elias Lovejoy, who was martyred in that cause, quoting the inscription on his monument at Alton, Illinois: "How prudently most men creep into nameless graves, while now and then one or two forget themselves into immortality." (Philip Brooks) He replies: "Yes, but it was the Lovejoys, Garrisons, and John Browns who precipitated the Civil War; while slavery elsewhere has been abolished without such tragic catastrophe."

3. His skepticism concerning the radical program has been considerably increased by the number of extremists who side-step the problems of a realistic world in order to achieve their own personal consistency with ultimate ideals. For example, there is the pacifist who says he will not fight, that he cannot conscientiously do so, yet who gives himself no substitute method of dealing with a situation loaded with danger, assumes no responsibility for helping his country resolve those delicate problems which threaten its stability or its very existence. Such a pacifist strikes a pose of spiritual superiority, while his own security is maintained by the conservative whom he criticizes. There is the advocate of the simple life who washes his hands of our iniquitous industrial system, gives all his goods to the poor, and finds a new freedom in the sacrificial life of vagrant service to mankind—a freedom that could not be supported if many others followed his example. There is the absolutist on radical relationships who insists on ignoring all discriminatory barriers, but who has no solution for a complicated inherited situation such as confronts the white man of the South however enlightened his good will. To our idealistic but conservative majority, it seems that the liberal-radical exhorter is constantly urging him to just such anti-social and futile individ-

ualism. He cannot see that it would be either fair play on his part or effective in reaching the desired goal. Such radicalism he deems parasitical and he will have none of it, regardless of our appeal to courage and the example of Jesus.

4. Furthermore, he has taken a warning from the psychologists who suggest that radicalism is often the retreat of the emotionally unstable, of the otherwise defeated souls who must find some sphere for the assertion of their deflated egos, some means of protesting against an order which is too much for them. He does not trust such a group to give appropriate leadership. He does not care to be numbered among them. He has learned to fear the "martyr-complex."

5. Finally, he has developed a firm belief in educational processes as the necessary prerequisite to sound social evolution. Changes precipitated without this foundation are abortive and short-lived. There must come, first, scientific research and laboratory tests of social theories. Then must follow the creation of public opinion on a wide enough scale to support the new proposal. All of this takes time and infinite patience. We may have to begin with the children and build up a generation with a new mind-set. He sees the Pact of Paris as quite ineffective just because it lacks such educational preparation among the peoples and statesmen of the several nations signatory. He views the relative breakdown of prohibition in America as due to the premature forcing of an issue before the people as a whole had been educated up to it.

The extreme liberals and the radicals have not convinced him that they understand this principle. They seem to him to retard real progress, bringing discredit upon the chance to win by always forcing society's hand prematurely.

III.

IF then, we would win these honestly recalcitrant conservative idealists to what we fondly consider our "advanced" positions, attitudes, and programs we must employ a new technique. This will be clear to the liberal leader if he will reflect for a moment that he himself is doubtless a conservative on some social issues, in comparison with such radicals as, let us say, Bertrand Russell or Stalin. Let him reflect upon what measures these extremists would have used if they cherished any hope of winning him to their positions.

This wholesome discipline would reveal at once that the left wing can never win over the right wing or even the center by the methods commonly employed, to wit: convicting them of inconsistency with their own best ideals; accusing them of overweening self-regard and craven fear; revealing the inadequacies and failures of the existing system; or painting in hues ever so rosy the eventual goal to be reached.

intelligent people will assent to all this, yet will not move a step from their entrenched position.

Is it not clear that what is called for is more exacting and more sympathetic study of each article of the conservative's defense, with a disposition to admit whatever of truth and reason is therein expressed? Where the impetuous liberal has ignored or defied such truth and value, must he not be quick to confess the fact and eager to redefine his position accordingly? Perhaps he will discover that the difference between himself and the conservative is not so much one of ideals or values or goals to be sought, but rather touches the trustworthiness of the methods advocated by the liberal and the adequacy of the substitute system which he proposes. This might turn his attention to the perfection and scientific testing of the new method to discover whether it is capable of standing the stress and strain which have made mankind cautious. Society sails in a leaky ship. Society knows

this; officers and crew spend much time over the pumps. But as long as this craft, unseaworthy as she is, can be kept afloat and moving, she will not be readily abandoned. A cry is heard, "Leave the old ship and we will save you!" But officers and crew looking over the rail perceive that the magnanimous offer comes from what appear to be a few wild-eyed seamen on a small and crudely constructed raft. Sadly they return to the pumps. If it had only been a Mauritania!

It would be unfair to close without suggesting that on certain issues the liberal-radicals have gone far toward those positive and worthy constructions which may merit the faith of all men of intelligence and good will. Insofar as this has been done, the measure of response is gratifying even if insufficient. It remains to perfect this new methodology and to extend it to all areas where reliance is still too naively placed upon criticism and oratory.

Prosperity By Suggestion

NELSON H. CRUIKSHANK

YOU should never allow yourself to speak of how you feel, nor permit others to ask you how you are feeling; you should never concede that you are ill, nor permit others to talk about disease or pain or death or similar non-existences in your presence. Such talk only encourages the mind to continue its empty imaginings."

Thus the Christian Science practitioner admonished Mark Twain, though he had informed her that he had "walked off a cliff seventy-five feet high, struck a boulder at the bottom and bounced; struck another and bounced again and broke both boulders" and that he himself had become in the process "but an incoherent series of compound fractures extending from scalp lock to heels" and that the comminuted projections caused him to look like a hatrack.

The incident is brought to mind by reading a full-length, four-column blurb appearing in a recent issue of the *New York Times* which is important because it is typical of much that is being written in paid columns and spoken from subsidized platforms. It is the gospel of optimism according to the Philadelphia Business Progressive Association, signed by the president, Mr. Ernest T. Trigg, and appearing with the list of directors containing the names of no lesser personages than Alba B. Johnson, William H. Taylor, and Cyrus H. K. Curtis!

The document is called "An Appeal to Reason, Addressed to Business Associations, Civic Societies, and Patriotic Americans Generally" and opens by saying: "This is the psychological moment for someone to do a

national service by appealing to the reason of the American people to banish the destructive spirit of pessimism now prevailing.

"I feel sure," continues Mr. Trigg, "I speak the minds of my associates when I say that the most considerable factor retarding business recovery today is that the courage, sanity and mental energy characteristic of the American people have for the moment been allowed to be submerged." He then goes on to point out that although twelve per cent of the earning population may now be unemployed, that only proves that eighty-eight per cent are still employed; but no mention is made of the vital fact that no fortunate member of the lucky eighty-eight knows how long his luck will continue and he is therefore justifiably holding on to all he can; nor is there any reference to the amount of reduction in wages among those in the eighty-eight per cent.

But practitioner Trigg has a diagnosis and a cure. The fault he says, is in the fact that we persistently look on the dark side when "for all that any one can prove to the contrary, we may be at the bottom of the depression level now. . . . Everywhere we are magnifying our evils and failing to evaluate the constructive side."

In short, the disorder is not real—it is a state of mind. Naturally the resultant discomforts may be as acute as if the cause were real, but these pains must not be dwelt upon as they only serve to magnify the mental state that is at the bottom of the disorder.

The suggested cure is typical of the practitioner's

art. "What is the practical remedy? Use of the new instrument the present age has discovered: What President Wilson called 'pitiless publicity.' It is the suggestion of the organization over which I preside that business associations, trade organizations, civic societies, business firms, professional men, and private individuals become definitely active. We may ask them to put campaigns under way at once in their communities by newspaper advertising, by circularization, by personal contact and by all the many other ways that are available. . . . Let us start an appeal to reason that will sweep across the country.

"Let us challenge public sentiment so that it will become nationally recognized that the person who goes around peddling pessimism and refusing to give proper weight to the bright side of the picture is as definitely unpatriotic as he would have been if he had talked against the Allies during the World War. Let it be understood that the irresponsible rumor-monger is today as much a traitor to his country and the best interests of his fellow-citizens as if he had helped the British in the days of Washington."

THERE are two reasons why such a statement has significance. The first is that it is typical of so much that is being said and written. If it were an isolated utterance it would be well to let it pass with no more attention than the soundness of its logic deserves. But it is not an isolated example; it is a sample of the thing that is believed and preached not only by the man on the street but by many in high places. The President himself lends dignity to this practice when he says as he has on occasion: "The fundamental strength of the nation's economic life is unimpaired. We should remember that these occasions have been met many times before. . . . We will lead the march of prosperity as we have always done hitherto . . . every individual should maintain faith and courage."

In the second place, statements like the one quoted are important because they are partly true: Who would deny that "every individual should maintain faith and courage?" Or who would question the well known economic fact that the state of mind existing among a people is of great importance? Confidence and courage certainly are tremendously important factors in maintaining an economic structure such as ours.

Unquestionably the doctrine of the divine healers is not only partially true in almost all cases of physical disease, but it is entirely true in certain classes of cases. When the source of the trouble is not in an organic disturbance acting as a primary cause but consists of some functional disturbance, then the state of the patient's mind is practically the only factor in determining the outcome of the disease. At times the task of the diagnostician becomes extremely difficult

because of the complicated interplay of these two possible causes of physical distress. Where the disorder is functional oftentimes amazing "cures" can be effected by the practitioner being able to change the mental attitude of the patient. Especially in cases where the sufferer is of a highly imaginative and emotional nature it is often really true that there is neither pain nor illness except in the mind, and if he will but refrain from thinking of them they will soon cease torturing him.

The mistake of the practitioner and those who put their trust in him is not in believing in something which is not true, but in believing that something which is true part of the time and with some type of cases must therefore be true all the time and in all cases. While every competent medical doctor admits that the state of mind of his patient is always important and that at times it is practically all that matters, he knows also that there are organic diseases which need skillful attention following fearless and honest diagnosis.

Although I do not pose as an expert diagnostician of the economic ills of our nation, that need not prevent me from pointing out certain symptoms which among others lead me to believe that the ills from which we are suffering are not merely functional but come from organic disorders.

THE first apparent symptom is that the pains which accompany the disorder occur periodically with almost predictable regularity. There were attacks in 1817, 1837-39, 1857, 1873, 1884, 1893, 1903, and 1907. Another attack was coming in 1913 but the war in Europe prevented its reaching very serious proportions. The year 1921 saw another and still another threatened in 1926 and 27 but was somehow held off until the fatal October, 1929. Now any system, physical or economic, that experiences such fluctuations in its state of well-being gives evidence of having something more than mere functional disorders resulting from mental states. If that is not true and if it is all a state of mind, then it only follows that the intervening periods of prosperity were also "psychological."

In this connection it is to be noted, too, that the mental state accompanying business depression does not always precede the actual pains but sometime follows them. What staunch defender of the *status quo* would ask us to be in a more optimistic state of mind than we were, say on October 10, 1929—even if he could imagine one!

THERE is, moreover, something radically wrong in the use of our so-called labor-saving device. Near my home they have been building several beautiful new concrete roads. One gigantic machine which rolls along on a railroad with a six-foot gaug

es the work, they tell me, of from forty to fifty en. But it isn't labor that is being saved, for the en come to work the same time in the morning as ey did before that machine was put into use, and ey work as late in the afternoon. What is more ey work just as hard if not harder than formerly, r now they have to keep up with the pace of the reless monster. To be sure, the total number of orking hours required to lay that strip of road is eatly reduced, and in that sense the machine does nserve energy. But it is not essentially a labor-ving device—it is a money-making machine intended o produce dividends for the company that owns it d lay concrete roads incidentally. If it were liter-ly a labor-saving machine, the full force formerly mployed, or at least a considerable part of the force, ould have been kept on the job at greatly reduced hedges of working-hours and with no reduction in ages.

THIS road machine is a symptom—not of a tem-orary functional difficulty but of an organic disorder. There are a great many such symptoms, ut I am confining myself to three. The last seems o be the most convincing in the evidence it offers as o the type of economic disease from which we are offering.

There is something incompatible about the two rinciples of free competition in business and the rinciple of manufacture on the basis of diminishing ost per unit.

Take, as a single example, the automobile indus-ry. It is necessary that any given producing unit of he industry turn out cars at a rapid rate in order to mpete with all the other units in selling price. The ore machines that are made, the cheaper they can e sold with profit. So it came about that in the year 929 all the competing automobile manufacturers in he United States combined to make 5,358,414 au-obiles. They had to manufacture that many not ecause there was a demand for them but because hey couldn't make them cheap enough to sell at all f they made any less. In that same year there were nly 2,617,029 cars discarded. This means that after he scrapped cars were replaced there remained 741,385 automobiles to sell to people who had ever owned machines before, or were in a position o be persuaded to join the *élite* composed of the "two-car" families.

In 1922 when all the families who could afford to own cars already possessed them, approximately two and a half million cars were being manufactured annually, with only about six hundred thousand of these scrapped in a year. The installment plan cre-ated new market areas so that the surplus of cars manufactured over cars finding their way to the dump heap was absorbed. But by 1929 not only did every

person who could afford a car own one, but likewise every person who couldn't afford one. Installment buying had opened up the last frontier, and high pres-sure salesmanship had exhausted it. October, 1929, marked the end of an era. But here were men and machines ready to make six million cars for 1930. Three million of that number represented the surplus to be absorbed either by people who had not owned cars before or by a sufficient number of families own-ing many cars. Only in Asia, Africa, and Europe were there a possible three million potential buyers; but for obvious reasons the people of the first two continents could not absorb these automobiles while in Europe people were too burdened with war debts to purchase cars, providing they could have been ex-ported to their shores.

It requires no expert to see that business run on the basis of diminishing cost per unit cannot continue under a system of free competition without the inevi-table by-product of these recurring periods of depres-sion and unemployment. And it takes no expert to see that mass production demands mass consumption, and that you can not have mass consumption unless the masses share more equally in the wealth they helped to produce.

These disturbances are not mere functional dis-orders; they are symptoms that point to the existence of organic disease in the economic structure of our society. Will the hopeful patient listen to the voice of the cheerful practitioner who insists that "the fundamental strength of the nation's economic life is unimpaired" and that his distress is only a "state of mind"; or will he come to his senses and realize that he must face the facts born of the new age in which he lives, and listen to the Doctor of Sound Economics even if he orders a major surgical operation.

War Resistance

Useless

Conscientious objection cannot have a positive result against war. . . . One can say that consci-entious objection is useless.—*Henri Barbusse, in The Clarion, August, 1930.*

Growing World Force

There are more war resisters in Europe today than there were Socialists fifty years ago, and in these times movements develop with much greater rapidity. . . . "Conscientious objection" may de-pend upon the moral conviction of a few, but in every progressive movement in history personal action by pioneers has preceded mass conviction and mass action.—*A. Fenner Brockway, M.P., in The Clarion, September, 1930.*

Findings

"Next to the originator of a good sentence is the first quoter of it."—Emerson

Don't Blame the Soldier

No soldier starts a war—they only give their lives to it. Wars are started by you and me, by bankers and politicians, excitable women, newspaper editors, clergymen who are ex-pacifists, and Congressmen with vertebrae of putty. The youngsters yelling in the streets, poor kids, are the ones who pay the price.—*Father Francis P. Duffy in a sermon preached at the Joffre Memorial Service, New York City.*

Doles Pure and Simple

The old cry that we would not tolerate the giving of "doles" is giving way to the realization on the part of the public that we have an extensive dole system. Our public and private charities have had to have huge grants to prevent the most terrible suffering on the part of the unemployed; and what are these grants but doles pure and simple? We are awakening to the fact that we attempt to meet the need created by unemployment with doles for which we have not even budgeted. A nation which prides itself on efficiency and system could not be more unsystematic in meeting an ever-recurring problem.—*Information Bureau on Women's Work, October, 1930.*

Social Planning Dangerous

Profit as a "motive" is necessary to the energizing of business and industry, is inherent in the private ownership of property and its personal operation. Profit, in a capitalistic system, cannot be dispensed with. Nor can property continue to be privately owned with some outside power dividing, deflecting, or dissipating its profits of operation. "Social planning and social control," as a principle, in a system of private ownership, cannot be permitted without sacrificing the whole system. Profit is just as honest as wages and can only come after wages are paid. Profit is not an ignoble motive, but a spur to endeavor and a payment for the use of capital. And profit, because it increases endeavor, benefits all the people. Upon the motive of profit, thus defined, has arisen our institutions, our comforts, and our civilization. In the future, as in the past, it will provide the co-operation of competition.—*Editorial in Financial Chronicle, January 10, 1931.*

Social Planning Indispensable

We refuse to believe that business is pre-ordained to proceed in waves by any divine law of progress. We regard the business cycle as a myth of business barbarism that conceals our ignorance and serves as an alibi for thinking. . . . Recovery will not come by "natural" forces, because there are none in business except the weather; everything that caused and everything that will cure this depression is artificial; it was or will be done or left undone by somebody. The commentaries on 1930 make us sure of one thing more: Those on the next depression will be exactly the same unless in the meantime our economic thinking becomes something more than a collection of moral platitudes from Poor Richard's Almanac.—*Editorial in the Business Week, January 14, 1931.*

A Frenchman Offers Resistance

I am pessimistic because these American methods make me afraid. They remind me of an incident in a French play: a man is reading through his own will with the Notary Public, and as he listens he remarks, "This document all the time keeps alluding to my death!" When I read about America it is my death they keep alluding to. Everything I like, everything I think essential, threatened by that system. If material progress is to be achieved only at the expense of individuality, of soul and of mind, then I think the price is enormous. That is why I would offer some resistance.—*M. Andre Siegfried in the Journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, November, 1930.*

An Englishman Tells Why

My God, how you irritate us! What is it in the American people that irritates us so profoundly? The primary source of irritation lies, I think, in the complete inability of the average American to understand anyone else's point of view than his own or indeed to believe that it is possible that there should be another point of view than his own. . . . But there is also, I think, in the attitude of mind of the thinking Englishman toward America, an element of apprehension. It is Americanism he is afraid of, and he is a good deal more afraid of it than he is of Bolshevism. The form of civilization which has sprung up in Russia is so wholly alien to our own that we are unlikely ever to be seriously affected by it. But the new civilization which we see arising in America is dangerous precisely because it is in structure the same as our own, being indeed based on the old civilization common to both of us, and differing only in its style. It is in fact a vulgarization of our own civilization; and vulgarity is a much more infectious complaint than Communism.—*Geoffrey Layman in The Forum, February, 1931.*

An American Confesses

There may have been some excuse for Britain on her poor island to go imperialist. There is none for us with a near-continent upon which to thrive. But we are not without cunning. We shall not make Britain's mistake. Too wise to try to govern the world, we shall merely own it. Nothing can stop us. Nothing until our financial empire rots at its heart, as empires have a way of doing. If Britain is foolish enough to fight us, she will go down more quickly, that is all. Of course American world supremacy is rather horrible to think about—quite unthinkable, as they say of an Anglo-American war. But American supremacy can hardly be worse than British and others gone before. Our weapons are money and machines. But the other nations of the world want money and machines. Our materialism, though not our power, is matched by theirs. That is why our conquest is so easy, so inevitable. What chance has Britain against America? Or will chance have the world?—*Ludwell Denny in America Conquers Britain, page 407.*

The Book End

The World Tomorrow reviews only books which it believes, after critical evaluation, to be helpful and interesting. On rare occasions it includes unfavorable comment on a popular volume which seems sufficiently misleading to render adverse criticism imperative.

The Searchlight on Russia

The Challenge of Russia. By Sherwood Eddy. Farrar and Rinehart. \$2.50. (Order through The World Tomorrow Book Shop.)

THE temptation in writing about Sherwood Eddy's new book on Russia is, I find, to use all my space talking about Sherwood Eddy and so fail to make the book out as important as it really is. That is because the book is such a perfect expression of its author, and its author happens to be one of the most interesting people alive. Two facts about Sherwood Eddy are bound to impress anyone who has the opportunity, as I have had, of knocking about many parts of the earth with him. The first is his inordinate passion for facts. The second is his incorrigible honesty. Both those things are stamped on every page of this volume, and if there is a subject more in need of factual enlightenment and honest dealing I don't know what it is.

The Challenge of Russia is primarily a fact book. The Eddy notebook has been working overtime. Its owner has ploughed through all the books that have been written, and gutted them of such contents as bore the semblance of provable actuality. To that he has added the returns from the incessant questionings and investigations of his own mind. The result is a book almost as concrete as the World Almanac. It stands on a bed-rock of statistical information. No matter whether the reader thinks he is pro or anti on Russia, if he wants to start the discussion with some material more relevant than an observer's impressionistic prejudices, he will do well to start with this array of digits.

Then there is the honesty. There is something about Sherwood Eddy's honesty that stirs me. (And appalls me.) Like that night when they gave him a testimonial banquet in New York, and all the big business supporters of the Y. M. C. A. came together to tell him what a wonderful fellow he was, and all that. Most of us would have been content to bask in the mellowness of such an occasion. But not Eddy. No, he had to get up and tell the assembled coupon-clippers that he was really a socialist, that he was going to be a party Socialist from now on, and then proceed to enumerate and specify the several and multifarious forms of radical doctrine which he meant to preach in the future.

That's Eddy. And that is characteristic of this book. When you read the first chapters, with his description of what the Communists have accomplished, you wonder how long it will be before the patriotic societies spread the word that the book has been subsidized by Moscow gold. Then when you read the chapters in which he tells about the religious policy of the Soviets, and that chapter on "A Criticism of Communism" which winds up with the adjective "damnable," you wonder how the man ever expects to get his passports visé for another trip.

All in all, I believe this book will prove the most valuable single volume on Russia so far presented to the American public. Mr. Eddy has not tried to compete with Maurice Hindus as a literary craftsman, neither has he tried to outdo the compendium of W. H. Chamberlin. But for the majority of those who are beginning to

understand that Russia does "constitute a challenge to America and the world" this brings the important facts, deals with them with rigorous honesty, and outlines the world issues involved—and all within the compass of an easily read single volume.

PAUL HUTCHINSON

Which Way Religion?

Which Way Religion? By Harry F. Ward. Macmillan Co. \$2.00.

"IF a ship is going to ride at anchor till it rots, it doesn't make a straw's worth of difference whether its compass is true or false."

The above words are not Dr. Ward's and do not do justice to the scope or content of his book; but they do express one great emphasis which runs through it, an emphasis that does much to make it a searching and disturbing volume. Dr. Ward is always and everywhere interested in what religion is going to do, what port it is headed for, what journey it is to make. That emphasis is perhaps nowhere better expressed than in these words from the present volume: "The only kind of religion which can meet man's present need is the kind that can save itself from subordination to the temporal aspects of life—that is, a religion whose God is ethical, whose salvation is progressively moral, whose worship is designed to aid the continuous transformation of life into nobler forms."

Compared with this kind of religion, Dr. Ward in his book sets the different emphases and trends which are today engaging the attention of a large section of American Protestantism: theology centered on the cosmic with the ethical interest subordinated, liturgy, and the absorption of the church in institutionalism. These, along with an emphasis on the psychological aspect of life are competing for the minds and energies of Protestantism. The picture drawn by Professor Ward recalls O. Henry's classical story, *Roads of Destiny*, in which at the outset he pictures a man standing before three roads. What follows is what might have happened had he taken each of the three roads. *Which Way Religion?* is developed in somewhat the same fashion. It shows what will happen, indeed what is happening in some cases, if the church takes any one of these roads leading out in different directions.

Any minister or church member who reads this book is in for trouble. That could of course be said of all Dr. Ward's books through which he has rendered such a unique service to the religious thought and life of his day. But to this reviewer it seems that of all his writings *Which Way Religion?* is by far the most powerful both in the sharpness and penetration of its estimate of present trends and in its deep religious note. The dominant impression left by the book is not primarily that of a critic of economic forces in life, but that of a prophet of real standing in that high line which begins with Amos and Isaiah and runs up through Jesus.

The contrasts of the book are indelibly etched. At its opening, the alternative before religion is sharply presented—submission to the world or transformation of the world. Yet the other position,

that to a large extent religion is chained to the conqueror's car in a manner reminiscent of the Roman Forum with manacled slaves following the chariot is also suggested. Only today the scene is staged in the real forum of modern life—Market Street and Wall Street.

The disguises and flatteries of the conqueror, the money empire which has led the church into the inglorious role of court chaplain, are clearly revealed. In this connection we get a glimpse into what is perhaps the major tragedy of church history in our day and country. That is the damming up of the stream of social passion which a generation ago gave fine promise of becoming the dominant note of church life—that awakening which began with Washington Gladden, Josiah Strong, Rauschenbush, and later Harry Ward himself. Where did it disappear to? Dr. Ward shows that the deflecting of that stream is one of the worst evils of the war. Today the interest of the church is centered on theology, as shown in the post-war fundamentalist controversy, with present interest in cosmic theology. The cosmic question should be dealt with competently Dr. Ward admits, but he says priority of interest must be in "an ethical God whose presence can be practiced in the organized way of human living, with whom men can coöperate in the working out of a real salvation from sins that are vividly concrete and terribly destructive." It is a critical examination of the ethical results of the present interest in psychology which has tended to center attention on the individual life and away from the brutalities in our economic order which are the source of a large part of social maladjustment. The section on what the emphases on architecture and liturgy will do to the ethical message of Jesus should challenge Protestantism in its present devotion to "the cult of the Gothic." There is the prospect of religion being made a sort of glorified chemist shop, an ecclesiastical pharmacy dispensing anodynes, soothing syrups of various strength and opiates. Handel's Largo and an arrangement of versicles and complines are ever so much less disturbing than the proclamation of the ethical insight of Jesus.

One of the most memorable chapters is that on the resources of Jesus for ethical living. The last section of the book asks the question, "Is it too late for religion to escape the bondage of infirmity and become morally creative?" Despite all the opposite trends, Dr. Ward does find some real elements of hope and he suggests a strategy for the preservation of Christianity among the alternative religions now before the world: Science, Communism, Nationalism, and Prosperity.

The book brings to mind vividly the tremendous asset which Harry Ward has been and is to American Christianity. No one has played to a greater degree the rôle of pioneer. In many ways the main positions which he advocated twenty-five years ago have today been accepted by a large section of the church. The most providential thing one could wish for American Protestantism is that in another twenty-five years it may come to the place where Dr. Ward is now.

HALFORD E. LUCCOCK

Dissenters, Not Puritans

The Religious Background of American Culture. By Thomas Cumings Hall. Little, Brown and Co. \$3.00.

PROFESSOR HALL'S book is a valuable corrective to a great deal of loose historical generalization about the Puritan background of American culture. He isolates the dissenting from the Puritan tradition and finds the former more potent than the latter in the religious and political life of the colonial and revolutionary period. The dissenting tradition is traced back to the Lollard movement so that Wyclif rather than Calvin becomes the spiritual

father of American Protestantism, at least in its more democratic expression. The author finds the tendency to label as Puritan a tradition which authorizes a strict discipline of morals wholly inaccurate. The characteristic of moral discipline is typical of the lower middle classes rather than of any particular religious movement. It is to be found in as unqualified a form in Virginia where there was no Puritanism, and among the dissenters who hate Puritanism, as among the Puritans themselves. Puritanism belongs economically to a higher middle class and stands for a type of churchmanship that would never have allowed the principle separation of church and state which became a significant part of the American democratic experiment. This principle was the contribution of the tradition of dissent, among the spiritual children of which the author counts Thomas Jefferson.

Mr. Hall may carry his thesis through too rigorously and may at times trace religious influences back to Wyclif when the connection seems very tenuous; but he has viewed the American religious scene from a fresh perspective and thrown new light upon it.

R. N.

The Negro and the Labor Unions

Negro Membership in American Labor Unions. Department of Research and Investigations of the National Urban League. \$1.00.

THIS timely study by the National Urban League paints out the whole a discouraging picture of the labor situation as it affects the colored worker. Though from 1910 to 1920 the Negro increased in numbers in certain occupations such as slaughtering and meat packing, iron and steel, and food industries, he has been losing his hold in other fields, especially in transportation and the building trades. And he is doing a smaller proportion of the work in the country considering his numbers. As the report says: "It should be noted that though Negroes formed 1.5 per cent less of the total population 10 years of age and over in 1920 than in 1910 they did two per cent less of the work. . . . The decrease in agricultural employment will not in itself account for these losses. The 1930 census will undoubtedly show a continuation of this tendency, since the greater competition for jobs due to cyclical and technological unemployment drives the native white worker to seek positions formerly held by the Negro."

Organized labor is revealed as no more liberal in its racial attitude than the church. Though the American Federation of Labor has frequently declared in resolutions against racial discrimination, the latter seems to be the rule rather than the exception. Of the 24 national and international unions which definitely exclude the Negro, 10 are affiliated with the A. F. of L. The study gives 225,000 Negroes as the number excluded by these organizations, 18 of which are in transportation. Other unions deny full membership but permit Negroes to affiliate through auxiliary bodies, a relationship which is likely to mean representation by white delegates. Still other organizations in theory allow Negroes to join, but in practice do not admit him. This practice is common in the building trades where many Negroes are at work.

When after a struggle the Negro finally becomes a member of a union, he is likely to find that though his rate of pay is higher, he does not do as well as he hoped because white members get the preference when jobs are available. It is not surprising in the light of these attitudes that only 81,000 Negroes are organized, and of these 12,000 are in independent Negro Unions.

Certain cases were recorded by the Urban League where satisfactory relations existed between organized labor and the Negro.

In general, this condition was due to the fact that Negroes gave strong competition, as in the case of the hod-carriers, the long-shoremen, the brick and clay and mine workers. Another labor organization having an excellent record in its dealings with the Negro, is the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. The executive board of the Molders' Union has been unusually active and persistent in its efforts to educate the membership to a liberal attitude toward the black worker.

In the opinion of the reviewer, unless organized labor realizes the extent to which the Negro can threaten its standards, and unless it supplements resolution-passing by well-planned campaigns with Negro organizers, it will find the large body of black workers increasingly opposed to its policies.

GEORGE L. COLLINS

As Others See Us

The Giant of the Western World. By Francis Miller and Helen Hill. William Morrow & Co. \$3.00.

IF Calvin Coolidge could have pondered this book before writing one of his recent daily platitudes, the *New York Herald-Tribune* and the other members of the syndicate that eagerly await his deliverances would have had a different morsel to offer their readers. On the day in question the Sage of Northampton declared that there was no reason why the European nations should not pay all their war debts to the United States, entirely regardless of what happens to German reparations. In a day when the fortunes of Europe and of America have become inextricably intertwined, such a point of view is incredibly provincial, as these authors point out.

"There was a period when the North Atlantic could properly be considered as the division between the Old World and the New. That period is over. The North Atlantic has now become comparable to the Mediterranean in the days of Greece and Rome; it is a body of water on whose various shores are to be found the different elements of a closely interrelated society. . . . A North-Atlantic civilization is coming into being, and henceforth the problems of either one of the continents which frame the Western World are problems of common concern." This is the central thesis that the present volume forcefully puts before us.

In a vivid survey the authors give us an unforgettable picture of the way in which, despite the tradition of American isolation, the nations of northern Europe now feel the impact of America. Europe appears in turn as a market, a playground, a mission field, a financial investment, and (however much disclaimed) a political "entanglement" for the United States. The crux of the matter is shown to lie in the fact that, at the very time when we have been loudly asserting a policy of political aloofness, we have been acquiring colossal economic interests in Europe. Such a paradox has a sinister appearance to the European. As he sees it, we decline to cooperate politically because we think we shall soon be powerful enough to get a strangle-hold economically, and then we can run everything for our own advantage. No one can read this book and not feel appalled at the possibilities of international misunderstanding that are involved in a situation in which "at one and the same time America is proclaiming her championship of peace and releasing forces which make for war."

A peculiar personal interest attaches to the volume as one of the best illustrations of intellectual comradeship between husband and wife. (In private life Miss Hill is Mrs. Miller.) It is a collaboration that may match that of Sidney and Beatrice Webb or Charles A. and Mary Beard.

SAMUEL MCCREA CAVERT

On the Eastern Front

The Russian Experiment. By Arthur Feiler. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$2.00.

The Five Year Plan of the Soviet Union. By G. T. Grinko. International Publishers. \$3.50.

Russia's Productive System. By Emile Burns. E. P. Dutton. \$4.00.

ALL is not quiet on the Eastern Front. While capitalism is nursing its grievous ills—depression, unemployment, hunger, and starvation—Communism in Russia is endeavoring to entrench itself so firmly that it will be impossible to dislodge it. While Americans fight communism with Congressional "red herring" committees, Europeans generally recognize the fact that what is happening in Russia is a unique experiment of world significance.

This is evidenced once again by Arthur Feiler's *The Russian Experiment*. Feiler, who was formerly editor of the powerful *Frankfurter Zeitung*, studied conditions in Russia in the spring and summer of 1929, and his results are put down in this fascinating volume. He writes with sympathy and understanding, fully aware of the singular importance of the new Russia, yet careful to note the vast problems against their own background and to report good and bad as he sees them. Had there been no Bolshevik revolution, the enormous increase of population, the lack of transportation facilities, the complete breakdown after the war, and similar problems would have faced any other government in Russia. But Feiler is right: the most important new thing on the Russian scene is Bolshevism and its program. His book is being read widely in Germany and England. It deserves a similar reception over here.

On the more technical side, G. T. Grinko's *The Five Year Plan of the Soviet Union* and Emile Burns' *Russia's Productive System* deserve attention. The first is by the vice-chairman of the USSR State Planning Commission and gives the details of the greatest project of industrial reconstruction ever undertaken; the second describes the machinery by which Russia is being remade.

H. C. ENGELBRECHT

Sermons by a Rabbi

Religion in a Changing World. By Abba Hillel Silver. Richard R. Smith, Inc. \$2.00.

A BOOK of sermons is always inadequate. Written over a period of years and some of them for special occasions, they lack in a collection the accumulative drive of a mind focused on one problem. They are valuable only for preachers, and friends and students of the writer. Rarely does such a book constitute a vital contribution to original thinking.

Religion in a Changing World by the brilliant Cleveland rabbi, Abba Hillel Silver, is no exception to the rule. The preacher is sparkling and clever. Listen to this: "The American people today is economically conservative, politically orthodox, internationally narrow-minded, religiously indifferent and morally cruising." He has often the long-distance point of view. Read this on religious imperialism: "As soon as religious groups will realize that all faith is longing and all dogmas but temporary resting-places for the advancing spirit of man . . . they will be prepared to meet in mutual helpfulness."

Religion is treated in successive sermons in its relation to the changing world, science, social justice, social service, world peace, race relations, liberalism, the home, education, and personal living. These sermons are splendid as far as they go, though one does

not need to be told that they were preached to a wealthy congregation. They do not offend. They do not courageously point the next step. The sermon on "The Church and Social Justice" has some ringing declarations, but they are too gloriously safe. Rabbi Silver tells us that "the church ought not to fritter itself away by introducing itself into every minor economic wrangle which may possess little or no social significance," but he does not say definitely that the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively, the abolition of the yellow dog contract, and the unjust use of the injunction are vital issues which the church should champion in season and out.

Brilliant rhetoric and pointed generalities will not change our world. To be sure, much preaching today does not possess even these desirable qualities, and the average man wishes for more of them in the pulpit. But if the church is to point the way to our generation, it will have to be far more explicit or men will not find the road.

HOWARD Y. WILLIAMS

WE RECOMMEND

Our Criminal Courts, by Raymond Moley. Minton Balch. 271 pages. \$3.50. A most timely volume on our courts and the administration of criminal justice. Full of facts, information, and suggestions.

Fountain of Life, by Havelock Ellis. Houghton Mifflin. 488 pages. \$4.00. This volume has brought together the three series of *Impressions and Comments*. Rich in wisdom and understanding, beautiful in expression, keen in observation, and charming beyond words, it is the kind of book to be read and pondered piecemeal year after year.

Prisoner of War, by Edwin Erich Dwinger. Knopf. 296 pages. \$2.50. A ghastly portrayal of an aspect of war that is often neglected. The scene of this horrible account is in prison camps of Russia and Siberia. Let those who are thrilled by the glory of war reflect for a time on the contents of this nauseating volume.

The Collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, by Edmund von Glaise-Horstenau. Dutton. 346 pages. \$7.00. An illuminating account of events in the Dual Empire after the death of the aged Emperor Francis Joseph. As early as March, 1917, Czernin sought to persuade Germany to sacrifice Alsace-Lorraine in order to secure peace with France.

The International Community and the Right of War, by Luigi Sturzo. Richard R. Smith. 293 pages. \$3.00. Written by a distinguished Italian exile, this volume is a scholarly analysis of the nature of war in the present international system and an attempt to outline ways of eliminating armed hostilities from the international community.

Poverty and the State. A Study of English Conditions, by Gilbert Slater. Richard R. Smith. 480 pages. \$4.00. In times of unemployment and distress the extent and effectiveness of state action are highly important. Here is a full and authentic record of what England is doing in the field of child welfare, sanitation, the care of the aged, the defective, and the handicapped, and to alleviate unemployment.

Since Then, by Philip Gibbs. Harper and Brothers. 469 pages. \$3.75. A popular summary of major events in the world since the Armistice by the most famous English war correspondent. Recent trends are interpreted from the point of view of a British liberal.

Social and Economic History of the United States, vol. I., by Harry J. Carman. Heath. 616 pages. \$4.00. An excellent summary of our national development in the new manner for college students and the general reader. The volume covers the years 1500-1820.

Crime and Punishment in Germany as Illustrated by the Nuremberg Malefactors' Books, by Theodor Hampe. Dutton. 171 pages. \$3.00. An interesting chapter in the history of penology from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries taken from private and official records. It is worth noting that, despite the most cruel and unusual punishments, crime went right on.

Westward, by E. Douglas Branch. D. Appleton & Co. \$5.00. From the settlement of Concord, Massachusetts, in 1635—"the first nibble into the wilderness"—to the admission into the Union of the last of the territories in 1912, this book spans in a vivid and varied story the period of the pioneer. It portrays trapper, trader, prospector, Indian fighter, cowboy, and settler, not in personal adventure merely, but in relation to the forces and events that have helped to make our nation what it is.

Die englisch-belgischen Aufmarschpläne gegen Deutschland vor dem Weltkriege, by Carl Hosse. Amalthea Verlag. 66 pages. This little volume demonstrates apparently conclusively that Belgium maintained a defensive alliance with England since 1906 and that the military plans for the coöperation of the two armies were worked out in detail down to the train schedules for the British troops. Much of this story is still unrevealed, especially its later phases, but it would seem to be proved that Belgium was no neutral state in 1914. While this does not improve Germany's case, since that fact was not known in 1914, it does destroy Belgium's.

God in Freedom, by Luigi Luzzatti. Macmillan. 794 pages. \$5.00. Signor Luzzatti, who more than any modern Italian has fought for Cavour's principle of a free church in a free state, devotes a large volume to the task of describing the battle for the rights of religious minorities in all countries and in all ages. His book is rich in material but unevenly written. When dealing with the Italian situation, he frequently descends to pure journalism and reports the minute details of certain historical events which can have only slight interest for other than Italians.

After Christianity What?, by Theodore Darnell. Brewer and Warren. 334 pages. \$3.00. Mr. Darnell is an honest soul who has reacted against the superstitions of the past and wants to build a new religion composed of the scientific method plus social sympathy. But how social passion, which is the real stuff of religion, is to be increased seems not to be quite clear to the author. The most interesting feature of this honest though not too profound book is Harry Elmer Barnes' introduction in which he declares, "For several very cogent reasons Mr. Darnell's book fills a greater need in the religious field than any other book published in America in this generation." So we pass in the name of progress from sublime credulities to trivial ones.

CORRESPONDENCE

Building the World Tomorrow

READ your magazine with almost religious devotion. It is a question of "from civer to civer" with me. I enjoy its spirit and its outlook. I find in it great inspiration for the specific tasks that I face, for I look upon this proposition of education as an attempt to build the world tomorrow. I read nothing as a magazine that keeps my courage up better than your worthy publication.

Eureka, Ill.

CLYDE L. LYONS,
President, Eureka College

A Protest From Dr. Barnes

THE article on Bishop Francis J. McConnell in your February issue was a splendid tribute to a great American. In numerous paths of endeavor the Bishop is entitled to the highest admiration of his countrymen.

I regret, however, to note that the author saw fit to mar his contribution by a deliberate misrepresentation. He says: "As both Clarence Darrow and Harry Elmer Barnes found when they engaged in debate with him, his was a mind against which the shock arguments of the village atheist were about as deadly and unimpressive as peas blown through a boy's shooter against a stone wall."

I am not acquainted with the facts relative to the debate between Mr. Darrow and Bishop McConnell. But the Bishop and I have never debated. The nearest approach was the symposium in *Current History* of March, 1929, in which Bishop McConnell was good enough to comment on my views of religious reconstruction. I shall be glad if any interested persons will consult this exchange. I have never felt any humiliation in regard to it, and Bishop McConnell was far less inclined to take sharp issue with me than his present biographer.

But my chief complaint is against the slovenly, cheap and common charge of atheism. Anybody who could write as intelligent an article as that on Bishop McConnell should be ashamed to stoop to such hoary vulgarity. I challenge anybody to find in any sentence I have ever written any semblance of defense of atheism. I have invariably contended that the atheist is just as much a product of dogmatic wishful-thinking as the theist.

I do not think any fair-minded person could well accuse me of emulating the village atheist. If the biographer of Bishop McConnell thinks I do so and wishes to humiliate me in public, let him hire a hall and phone by lecture manager.

New York City

HARRY ELMER BARNES

One Way of Sharing

SEVERAL years ago a friend gave me a subscription to THE WORLD TOMORROW, and so changed the whole trend of my thinking and opened up vistas hitherto entirely closed to me. I have been eternally grateful and could not now possibly get along without your stimulating articles. Each number is passed on and worn threadbare by friends who share my interest but are not able to subscribe at present. In return for this original favor to me, I am enclosing a check for a year's subscription to be sent to John Doe.

San Francisco, Calif.

CLARA L. SHARPE

Affairs in China

THERE is much hope and optimism in China to-day. Nothing in the past few years approaches it save the period following the victorious march of the revolutionary forces from Canton to Hankow. Certainly there is more hope now than when the northern expedition reached Peiping in the summer of 1928. Of course, predictions are not wanting which prophesy another outbreak of war between Generals Chiang Kai-shek and Chang Hsueh-liang within a year. But, in spite of these forebodings, the general feeling is much more optimistic about the restoration of peace in China than ever before. Part of this belief may be nothing more than a mental attitude, but in the main it is justified by facts. Everybody in the country has learned the waste of war in a realistic way. The merchants have paid heavily not only in the loss of business but also in direct taxation. Business men have been driven to bankruptcy and farmers to famine and poverty. As a result, banditry is followed as one road to self-preservation and communism another. Since the new regime started, six hundred million dollars have been drained from the people in national bonds. There is a limit to everything. Even the Chinese, who are the most docile and submissive people in the world and who are content with "sweeping their own doorsteps," are made keenly sensitive when their purse is being emptied.

What brought the fighting to a finish was Chang Hsueh-liang's intervention. Many feel skeptical about Chang's real intentions. Rumors are prevalent that he stepped in merely to save Yen Hsi-shan and Feng Yu-hsiang from a total collapse. Others would have us believe that he had been hand and glove with them all the time, and the withdrawal of the forces of Yen and the evacuation of Peiping were all pre-arranged. Be what it may, the fact remains that Chang and Chiang are getting together. If their professions, both public and private, mean anything at all, it is reasonable to believe that both of these men have at heart the best interests of the country, and will combine their energies to start China on the road of reconstruction.

In his memorandum to the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, Chiang Kai-shek recommended that the fourth plenary meeting of that body be called at an early date to consider four important things: first, the calling of a national assembly of the people; second, the promulgation of a provisional constitution; third, the drafting and preparation of a permanent constitution; fourth, a shortening of the period of political tutelage so as to extend civic rights to every citizen whether party member or no. These represent a virtual acceptance *in toto* of the political platform of the erstwhile opposition government. Chiang was broad-minded enough to see the importance of these proposals and he was courageous enough to propose their consideration at the risk of being branded counter-revolutionary.

Naturally there is much speculation about General Chiang Kai-shek's confession of the Christian faith. Some people attribute it to his desire to please his mother-in-law; others insinuate that it is a method of courting favor and popularity in foreign countries. All are entitled to their own opinions; but certainly it is clear that in China today there is not much to be gained by becoming Christian, especially for a man in political life. For Chiang definitely to declare himself a Christian at this juncture shows moral courage and unmistakable conviction.

Shanghai, China

L. T. CHEN

The Last Page

IN London there was held recently an exhibit of memorabilia from the woman's suffrage crusade, and needless to say, among the relics were many which go far to buttress one's belief in extremist measures. The militants were pretty awful, but nevertheless they roused the nation when argument failed to do it. In the House of Commons there used to be a grilled gallery for women which shut them off from view after a fashion, the theory being, as in the case of synagogues, that in this manner the male members of the assemblage would be better able to keep their minds on business. It simply didn't work when women, barred from addressing the floor of the House, managed to get tickets into this gallery, chained themselves to the grill, snapped handcuffs tight (the key had previously been thrown away) and proceeded to speak their minds. After an hour's sawing with files, during which time a substantial speech was made, and a speech, you may be sure, to which there were many who paid attention—the doughty orator would be taken off to the lockup triumphant. One, refusing to pay her taxes or to register, secreted herself boldly enough in the very room off St. Stephen's Chapel, in the House, where Guy Fawkes's gunpowder was stored. A gloomy place it is, too, and not for a long time did they find her. Interestingly enough, *today* the Government thinks well enough of these fighting women to have set up the grill, with brass tablets of remembrance, in the window panels of the Central Lobby. These iron bars came down from the galleries, of, course, once the woman's vote was given. Don't tell Eccentricus that the safe, sane, quietest methods always work best. It may be grilling but it does us good.

NONE of my regular readers, who have seen me swat things right and left about the United States, will think I have become anti-British just because I have a little fun with English bigwigs. Among the many sins which I must admit—every American, I am told, has to confess to a great many after a trip abroad—is attending a Rotary luncheon. It was a pretty pleasant affair, free from most of the childplay associated with those in the States. There was, it happened, an American speaker, a brilliant young Quaker professor long known to me. He did well, pleading for better understanding. And well he might, for all the average Briton ever reads about America is gangsters, Hollywood, and the contra of prohibition. After the address, friend chairman had to speak a kindly word of thanks. Said he: "After visiting America last year, I came home with the conviction that the people over there who really mattered, the people who actually counted, were the people who were most like us." Eccentricus swallowed two whole brussels sprouts—England's only vegetable—and had to be patted on the back by a custard manufacturer before he could suppress his whoops. Topping, what?

I FEEL a little remote to be sending bulletins on the Manning-Lindsey bouts, but I do notice that Roumania is having a terrific increase in divorces. At the rate of a hundred a week they have been running like wildfire through the women workers in government jobs. Reason? A decree was recently issued to the effect that married women would have to give up their positions. Does all this mean that old Eros has just curled up and died? Hardly. The couples, after their divorces, simply go on living as they were before, without benefit of clergy but with benefit of double income. There is a new one. What think you of Roumanianate marriage?

ONCE upon a time I heard a yarn about an American who had come to live in a newly purchased English house. He overheard the maids talking about him. "How do you like the new marster?" asked one. "Ah, 'e's orl raht," said the other, "but 'e's no gentleman." "An' 'ow is that?" "Why, I was a-comin' up the stairs with a scuttle o' coal this mornin' an' 'e tuk a-hold of it an' carried it up fer me. No gentleman would ever do a thing like that."

At the moment there is something of a lady controversy over here. A Coroner of Camberwell corrected a witness who referred to "the lady living upstairs." Said he: "You mean woman! Don't talk about ladies in tenement houses!"

Personally, though neutral in the matter, I have always had a faint

distaste for ladies, perfect or otherwise. Women I have regarded more highly. Keen on the scent of anything new, I thought the other day I had hit upon something interesting: it was a sign, The Work Ladies Guild. Ah, but it only meant, I found, ladies in the usual English sense, not women; and these were working not for themselves but others—a socially praised practice, so long as you are supported by other ladies—I mean women's—work.

Borrowed. "It is impossible to hear every speech in a two-day debate and remain quite sane."—The London Times. "Slogans are useless except to the mentally deficient."—London News-Chronicle.

Original Remark Number 5,749,638: I therefore make every endeavor to ensure that our army is as efficient as it can be made but only for defensive purposes."—President Masaryk of Czechoslovakia. This sort of talk is growing offensive.

WHO said the British have no sense of humor? Never Eccentricus—he always knew better. He knows assuredly no more. For this is how they refer to their annual statistics on birth marriages, and deaths: "Hatch, match, and dispatch."

KING CAROL has made his own grievous sacrifice to match that of his working people. He has voluntarily reduced his salary 20 per cent—from \$2,500,000 to a paltry \$2,000,000. Poor lad—may have to stay at home on that.

ECCENTRICUS has long had his opinion about the Passion Play and his British sojourn has hardly improved it. But whether he is worth much or no, here is how one British editor wrote it (*The Bystander*): "People who went this year for the first time may find that it is almost eerie seeing New Testament characters performing the most menial jobs during the morning before appearing in the Passion Play at night." As far as that goes, there are many people who find it positively eerie to come within sighting distance of a job at all.

What America calls Russia, America is called. . . . I find this in the London *Evening News*: "America, where a decree of divorce may be obtained as readily as a motor driver's license. . . ."

JOURNEY'S END is being played in Mussoliniland. It is called, however, "The Great Journey" and has been somewhat rescued from effeminacy. The incident of the wounded German being carried into the British trenches while the German fire was withheld, omitted, as are also all friendly comments about the enemy. Osborn reads Shakespeare instead of Lewis Carroll, and at every ironic satire on nationalistic bombast, so reporters state, the majority of the audiences cheer vociferously. (Eccentricus, however, once heard this very thing done in New York, at Gilbert and Sullivan's *Ruddigore*.) Hibbert, the fearful one, is taken by the audience to be a total villain, and though critics have praised the play they have expressed wonder that there was "no mention of the motherland." Methinks that the good old mellerdrayma which for a time flourished at Hoboken in Chris Morley's revivals, ought to be imported to the would-be Roman Empire. The only things needed to ensure howling success would be to eliminate the forgiveness just before the final curtain, intensify the snow scene and let the well-known bus saw do its dirty work unchecked.

SIR HENRY LYTTON, the famous actor, has told an American story too good to miss. Uncertain about the tip he should give while en route from New York to Montreal, he asked the porter frankly what was an average tip. "Three dollars" came the quick reply. Although it seemed to the alien traveller rather steep, he handed it over, asking, "And is that all right?" "Yessir," answered the beaming porter; "in fact, Sir, you is the first gentleman to come up to the right average."

ECCENTRICUS.

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

SHERWOOD EDDY has made six visits to Russia—two under the Czarist regime in 1911 and 1912 and four times under the present government in 1923, 1926, 1929 and 1930. He has seen former acquaintances of the old order both inside and outside the Soviet Union. He has interviewed friends and foes of the present government, foreigners and Russians in every walk of life. He has gone anywhere he wished night or day. He has chosen his own interpreters, often taking them from America. He has selected the factories and institutions he wished to inspect, and no suggestion has been made by the authorities that he should see certain show places of favorable situation. Mr. Eddy declares that there is no criticism in his book of which he has not repeatedly spoken to the Russian leaders themselves.

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